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14 May CIS Leaders Summit Previewed

LD1305141393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1330 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS observer Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow, 13 May—The participants of the extraordinary meeting of CIS heads of state planned for Friday [14 May] started gathering in Moscow today. The main problems which have forced the leaders of the Commonwealth countries not to postpone their council to a later date are economic ones, in particular those which have appeared with Kyrgyzstan's introduction of its own currency. On a more general level, it is about the elaboration of the rules of the game in what is, if not a united, then at least a strongly integrated economic space. In March Russia's President Boris Yeltsin came out with an initiative on the creation of a close economic union, and he was supported in principle by all the participants of the April (extraordinary) session of the Council of Heads of States in Minsk, who were united in the opinion that the Commonwealth is working feebly in its present form.

True, the CIS states do not yet have a united approach to an all- round economic union. At the Moscow meeting it is planned to examine questions of the first stage of such a union (customs and prices), and ratify the previously initialled agreements on a consultlative and coordinating committee, executive secretariat, and permanent plenipotentiary representatives in the working bodies of the Commonwealth.

At the same time, ITAR-TASS correspondents have learned that the possibility of creating, for the time being, an economic alliance between those Commonwealth countries which would be prepared "to give up" partly their sovereignty in favor of such an alliance was preliminarily discussed at the consultations of experts held on Wednesday and today. Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan are being named as the possible core of economic, military, and political integration.

The Russian concept put forward for discussion includes such elements as a customs union, which stipulates free circulation of goods, an inter-bank union with a single monetary system, and agreed financial and credit policy, a foreign economic union envisaging the partners' agreed position in the foreign market, as well as more similar national legislations. Russia is coming out in favor of setting up interstate structures geared toward specific economic targets and transnational companies within the CIS, such as the Surgut agreement on developing Russia's oil extraction complex. At Russia's initiative, a draft charter of a coal and steel union has been submitted to heads of government for examination. We will recall that it was the creation of precisely such a union that initiated Europe's integration in 1953.

Russia's idea also provides for political steps aimed at the effective activity of an economic alliance. In this case it may be a question of setting up a system of collective security. Today, the CIS Council of Defense Ministers held a sitting in Moscow at which documents were discussed envisaging cooperation with regard to Issues of a military, military-political, and military-technical nature, both within the framework of the Tashkent Treaty on collective security and on the basis of bilateral agreements, but the degree of accord in this sphere is still small, and it is hardly likely that the documents mentioned will be submitted to tomorrow's meeting.

The experience of the CIS's 18-month existence is increasingly making the member countries incline toward integration. This process is making some headway, albeit slowly, overcoming the political diversity of the countries that have emerged in the place of the former USSR.

Niyazov Arrives 13 May

LD1305163493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1524 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—President of Turkmenistan Saparmurad Niyazov opposes the idea of a CIS economic union, but supports the creation of an inter-bank union.

It is first necessary to solve the problems of pricing policy, customs and taxation, he said upon arrival in Moscow to attend a CIS summit on Friday [14 May].

Niyazov said that the introduction by neighbouring Kyrgyzstan of its national currency is the right of a sovereign state. Turkmenistan and other Central Asian republics will experience certain inconveniences for some time, however it is always possible to agree on the money supply, he added.

Nazarbayev Arrives, Comments

LD1305162693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1529 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—An economic union of the Commonwealth is necessary for those states who want to participate in it, according to President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev. The question will be the main item on the agenda of a CIS summit on Friday [14 May], he said upon arrival in Moscow to attend the meeting.

Other items on the agenda include the CIS Coordinating Economic Council, the Executive Secretariat and priority measures to strengthen the Commonwealth.

Nazarbayev said that Kazakhstan had already ratified the CIS Charter.

Ukrainian President To Attend

LD1305180793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 13 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Ukrainian President] Leonid Kravchuk will arrive in Moscow tomorrow to take part in the meeting of the CIS leaders because Ukraine is extremely interested in setting up an economic union of the former USSR republics, the Ukrainian president's press secretary said today.

Leaders To Discuss Military Document

LD1305165393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1618 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow 13 May (TASS)—Russia disagreed with two out of three documents discussed on Thursday [by the CIS Council of Defence Ministers and the CIS summit will now consider only one agreement—on basic principles of army service in Commonwealth states by citizens of other republics.

Russia was the only state out of six countries-signitories of the CIS collective security treaty which opposed the draft basic provisions for increasing the defence capability of the Commonwealth and a draft agreement on unified armed forces.

Russia stands for the creation of the CIS unified armed forces, but only in wartime, and opposes the idea that the CIS main command should retain the right to control nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union, according to Russian Deputy Defence Minister Boris Gromov who headed the Russian delegation.

He told TASS that Russia opposes to have CIS armed forces in peacetime because it will bear enormous expenses to maintain them. "We already have the sour experience of colossal expenses for maintaining large armed forces in peacetime", Gromov said referring to the Soviet army.

Besides, national legislations of some CIS countries do not allow them to use armed forces outside their territories or in hot spots. Several countries have not yet created the armed forces, others have signed the collective security treaty, but have not ratified it yet, Gromov said, adding that one "should not deceive himself and make untimely steps".

"Russia stands for increased defence capability of the Commonwealth, but it is necessary to specify how each of the countries interpret the notion", he said.

Gromov reiterated the Russian position that according to the Lisbon Protocol and the statements of the leaders of Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus, Russia is the only inheritor of the former Soviet nuclear weapons. "The provisions of the draft agreements which leave the right to control nuclear weapons to the CIS armed forces main command does not suit Russia. The main command, as well as the CIS, is not a state and cannot have the right to control and use nuclear weapons", he stressed.

Leaders To Sign Economic Union Declaration

LD1305180893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1725 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS news analyst Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—Intensive efforts by a number of CIS countries, primarily Russia and Kazakhstan, towards deeper economic integration of CIS countries are expected to lead to the signing of a declaration on the establishment of an economic union at the CIS summit here on Friday [14 May].

The document will recognise the need to establish an economic union of CIS countries and indicate approaches for experts to be guided by when drawing up specific agreements about a mechanism for the creation of an economic community on a larger part of the territory of the former Soviet Union. Highly informed sources believe that "all heads of state will apparently put their signatures to such a declaration".

It is so far difficult to say for certain which specific provisions the declaration will contain: experts are yet to work on it, and the presidents themselves are, most likely, to introduce some adjustments to it at their meeting on Friday.

One can only suppose that, since Russia as of now is actually the locomotive of reforms among CIS countries, a Russian economic reform will be adopted as a basis for CIS countries' common strategy in an economic union, considering Russia's economic potential.

Russian experts on the economic cooperation of CIS countries believe that the formation of a customs union should become the first step towards the establishment of an economic one. This presupposes the lifting of customs duties and quantitative restrictions—quotas and licenses in trade among CIS states—and at the same time the fixing of a common tariff with regard to third countries. With this end in view, customs union member-countries will have to agree to follow a common strategy and a common pace of the realisation of economic reforms.

This also presupposes a consistent introduction of market- determined forms of economic management, the pursuance of a coordinated pricing policy, the harmonisation of taxation systems (having in mind the creation of a single taxation system subsequently), the joint elaboration of an effective anti-monopoly regulation and a common foreign economic policy with regard to third countries.

It must be taken into account that both a strategy to achieve the adequacy of economic reforms and the carrying out of foreign economic activities would require that the customs union member- states to a certain extent give up part of their national sovereignty both in foreign economic relations and in purely national approaches to reforms.

Therefore, it can be supposed that if no effective political accords are reached among CIS states before these economic measures, the customs union idea may burst as a soap bubble.

The formation of an economic union which would effectively function in the interests of all member-states would require a number of other serious stages.

The re-creation of a single monetary system (the formation of a currency union) and the pursuance of a rigidly coordinated currency and financial policy are an indispensable condition for the creation of a common economic space.

This may be connected with CIS states' consent to create an inter-bank union and transfer the right of deciding vote to the Central Bank of Russia on such matters as emission, amounts of credits, and the rate of interest on them.

For the economic union to function effectively, CIS countries are also to make efforts consistently to bring national legislations closer together and, most importantly, create supranational agencies for coordination and management and refer to them part of functions of national managerial bodies.

Incidentally, the latter condition is expected to be implemented as early as Friday when the leaders of CIS states will sign documents on the formation of a CIS Coordinating Consultative Committee and an Executive Secretariat.

Apart from these two items and the signing of a declaration on the establishment of an economic union, the tentative agenda of the Moscow summit also includes items concerning a programme for the drafting of documents on further strengthening of the CIS and on permanent plenipotentiary representatives of CIS members at the CIS Charter-provided agencies.

Azerbaijan's Premier Rules Out Membership

LD1405093293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0839 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Leonid Timofeyev and Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow, 14 May—"Azerbaijan has decided once and for all that it will not join the CIS," Panakh Guseynov, chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of Azerbaijan, said on arrival in the Russian capital. He will attend, as observer, the extraordinary meeting of the Commonwealth's heads of state and government.

In a conversation with journalists Panakh Guseynov noted that his task includes "to see what kind of union CIS countries are going to set up." He added that although, in principle, Azerbaijan is not against economic cooperation, Baku is quite happy to retain its status of observer within the CIS.

The prime minister remarked that the republic had a positive response to the Russian initiative on settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh. Answering an ITAR-TASS correspondent's question, the chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers said that Azerbaijan does not reject discussion of Nagorno-Karabakh's status. He confirmed Baku's position which consists of giving Nagorno-Karabakh a status of cultural autonomy.

Kyrgyz Vice President Comments

LD1405104093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1003 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS— "Kyrgyzstan is looking forward to the strengthening of the Commonwealth of Independent States," Kyrgyz Vice-President Feliks Kulov stated upon his arrival in Moscow, where he will attend the extraordinary CIS summit, which is to open today afternoon.

Kulov stated at the airport that his country supported the idea of setting up a CIS economic union and would sign the documents that would be submitted to today's summit. "I don't think problems linked with the introduction of Kyrgyz national money will be discussed during the meeting." In Kulov's opinion, this is of no major importance for the CIS nations-members of the rouble zone. "And even if this is of any matter for them, they are bound to view it in a positive light," the vice-president stressed.

Possibility of Economic Union Questioned

LD1405104793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1014 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—"Several political problems must be resolved before the idea of a CIS economic union becomes practicable," ITAR-TASS was told today by Vladimir Mashits, chairman of the Russian State Committee for Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth Nations. He noted that such a union would be impossible if its future members failed to pursue identical goals in the course of their reforms or to keep apace with each other.

Touching on the discussion of the Russian concept of an economic union on the eve of the extraordinary CIS summit, Mashits said that there were no objections to the general idea of such a union at expert level. "However," he stressed, "such a union can be only the end element of the economic integration process, embracing the customs, banking and other systems of the Commonwealth states." He said that the elaboration of all the elements of the union would take much time.

In the opinion of Ivan Korotchen, coordinator of the CIS working group, who welcomed the heads of state at the Vnukovo Airport, the economic union's concept should be decided by CIS leaders and premiers themselves. This is why their meeting will begin today with a talk in a narrow circle. In his opinion, the Economic Coordination Committee, which will be discussed at the summit, should discharge the functions of an institution charged with organising and controlling the fulfilment of CIS decisions in this sphere.

Shaposhnikov Urges Integration of CIS Armed Forces

LD1305143993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The preparations for the meeting of CIS leaders, which is known to be taking place in Moscow tomorrow, are continuing. Today, the CIS ministers of defense met in the capital of Russia.

[Begin correspondent Sergey Omelchenko recording] Improving and strengthening defense capacity and military cooperation is on the agenda of today's session of the Council of Ministers of Defense of the Commonwealth countries in Moscow. Exactly a year has passed since the treaty on collective security was signed, which six states are party to today, but up to the present time, it has not been filled with specific content. No mechanism has been worked out for implementing it.

The ministers of defense gathered today to put this state of affairs right and make specific decisions.

[Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces] The time has come when one has to move toward integration, and precisely according to the formula quality rather than quantity. Let there be a smaller number of states, but real ones. I perceive the Commonwealth as a qualitatively new type of cooperation among our fraternal peoples.

[Omelchenko] The doors of the Commonwealth's defense alliance are open to all those who are interested in collective security. It was announced at the session that one could become a member of the alliance on a bilateral basis. Thus, the ministers of defense of the CIS countries are counting on coming out at a qualitatively new level of military cooperation. [Video shows scenes at meeting and interview with Shaposhnikov.]

Further on Meeting

LD1305200993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1421 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] A regular meeting of the Council of Defense Ministers of the CIS states took place at the headquarters of the main command of the Commonwealth's Joint Armed Forces. Our correspondent Tatyana Chemodanova reports from there.

[Chemodanova] The heads of the military departments of the CIS member states discussed the drafts of the agreements which are on the agenda tomorrow of the Council of Heads of States. They include a draft resolution on increasing the defense capability of the CIS member states, on more military cooperation, an agreement on CIS Joint Armed Forces, and other military issues.

This is what Air Marshal Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov said at the opening of the Council of Defense Ministers:

[Begin Shaposhnikov recording] [Words indistinct] demands that the Treaty of Collective Security signed in Tashkent by the heads of state of the six states should be filled by concrete content. On the other hand the documents presented to you for discussion today do not exclude in any way bilateral cooperation between participants in the system of collective security and states which are not part of this system. This is a normal thing to happen. We will not make a tragedy out of this. [end recording]

Just a few minutes ago after the end of the work of the Council of Defense Ministers I asked Lieutenant General Leonid Grigoryevich Ivashov, secretary of the CIS Council of Defense Ministers, to speak on the results of the meeting.

[Begin Ivashov recording] The most important issues included a draft resolution on the main directions for increasing the defense capability of the Commonwealth states and more military cooperation, and a draft agreement on the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth. Conclusions were made on the objective need to create a system of collective security where the Treaty of Collective Security will provide the political basis and the joint armed forces will provide military basis. These ideas were laid in the foundations in the drafts of the two documents I have named. Unfortunately, there was no consensus on these. Five member states of the Treaty of Collective Security agreed and made some constructive proposals. Russian position is somewhat different. They consider a closer, a wider military integration as premature. The idea of the creation of joint armed forces was also considered as premature. We see here that a political decision should be taken by the Russian leadership. That is why the Air Marshall Shaposhnikov will report this issue and the views of the sides tomorrow at the meeting of the Council of Heads of States. On the whole the meeting of the Council of Defense Ministers passed off in a constructive atmosphere. Only the delegation from the Ukrainian Defense Ministry was not present at today's meeting. This is in short what I have to say about the results of today's meeting of the Council of Defense Ministers.

Interior Ministers Sign Cooperation Agreement

NC1305165193 Yerevan SNARK in English 1512 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Yerevan, May 13 (SNARK)—Today, in Yerevan, the CIS countries ministers for internal affairs conference is completed with signing "the agreement on mutual collaboration among the internal affairs ministries on technical-criminalist providing for the activity". [sentence as received] Asked by SNARK's reporter on an explanation for the absence of the Lithuania, Moldova and Azerbaijan representatives, and whether it means that they refuse to collaborate, Russian Minister for Internal Affairs Viktor Yerin said: "there occurred just technical reasons for that. Head of the Moldova delegation was ill, Lithuania is preparing for elections, and new Azerbaijani minister, probably, has no time to get acquainted with problems. In any case, they should send out a signed agreement. I believe that all former Soviet Union republics would sign the agreement and will collaborate with each other".

Meeting Ends in Yerevan

LD1305201793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2001 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan May 13 TASS—Colonel General Viktor Yerin, Russian minister of the interior, left here on Thursday [13 May] night after attending a CIS interior ministers' meeting which ended here earlier in the day.

Summing up the results of the Yerevan meeting, Yerin said the system of law enforcement agencies of CIS states becomes more and more coordinated.

Cis republics' cooperation in the maintenance of law and order and protection of legality grows stronger and an active quest is under way for new mechanisms to invigorate this cooperation, he told ITAR-TASS before departure.

A venue for next meeting of the CIS interior ministers has not yet been decided upon but, in all probability, the ministers will meet either in Ashgabat or Moscow, General Yerin said.

Interstate Space Council Discusses Cooperation in Kiev

LD1305083893 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1525 GMT 12 May 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Oleksiy Petrunya]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—Issues of cooperation in mastering the expanse of space are being discussed by participants in a session of the Interstate Space Council [Mizhderzhavna Rada po Kosmosu], which opened in Kiev on 12 May. The center of attention is the validation of an interstate space program for this year, the discussion of draft agreements on the Executive Committee of the Interstate Space Council, and on its budget, and the procedure of making mutual payments and ensuring the clearance of mutual payments between states.

Heads of national space research and exploitation agencies from Azerbaijan, Belarus, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine put forward their concepts of cooperation.

Volodymyr Horbulin, director general of the National Space Agency of Ukraine, told a UKRINFORM correspondent the following:

"Our agency is only one year old. In that period of time, organizational issues have been settled and a number of government decisions have been adopted on developing space research for purposes of the national economy.

"Our main objective now is to reorient space programs toward solely civilian requirements and those of the national economy. The registration of enterprises and organizations of our country has been carried out in respect of their readiness to supply the needs of space research. Principles of a national space program have been worked out. Among them is the creation of our own space equipment, the development of links with the former USSR republics, the integration in the activity of the world community in researching and exploiting the expanse of space, and the introduction of mixed financing of the program, i.e. not only drawing in budgetary funds but also the capital of commercial structures".

The aim of the Interstate Space Council in the first place is to develop cooperation between the former Soviet Union republics and to draw up a joint concept, Volodymyr Horbulin noted. For example, Ukraine is allocating 36 billion karbovantsi to space programs, with 11 billion out of that amount for the implementation of the interstate program.

"Working together, we shall be able to do more for our countries and their economies", the director general stressed.

The session's final documents will be presented at a meeting between the CIS heads of state, though maybe not at the next one but in a meeting. After all, quite a lot of details in joint documents still need to be finalized.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 14 May

LD1405073093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0653 GMT 14 May 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 14 ITAR-TASS—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries an article today which deals with the resumption of consultations by CIS member states. The newspaper points out that the process is gaining momentum and that the prospect of a possible confederation ceases to be just a shadow.

According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, the improvement of Georgian- Russian relations, which may become possible as a result of the Russian-Georgian summit meeting opening today, is a factor which does not at all suit "certain forces both in Russia and outside it".

PRAVDA carries an interview with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, who spoke in favour of "pursuing a clear policy in all the directions." he stressed, at the same time, that he favours "a policy of agreement with all reasonably-minded political forces", and that "it is necessary to put the situation under control in order to prevent radicals from entering the parliament, the government or presidential structures."

Colonel General Andrey Nikolayev, deputy head of the general staff of the Russian armed forces, has contributed an article to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, which deals with prospects of Russian-American partnership in the military sphere.

General Andrey Nikolayev led the delegation of the general staff of the Russian armed forces, which held talks in the United States between May 3 and May 8 with representatives of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff. If both sides show good will, "there are no problems for which ways of settling them cannot be found, or at least the sphere of disagreement cannot be reduced", he writes in an article published by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. According to General Nikolayev, Russian First Defence Minister [title as received] Andrey Kokoshin will soon pay a workintg visit to the U.S., which will be followed by the official visit of Defence Minister Pavel Grachev late in June.

Nikolayev writes that during the talks held by the delegation, which was led by him, documents were prepared, which give grounds for hope that the forthcoming visit of the Russian defence minister will become a "turning point" in relations between the armed forces of the two countries.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an article, which strongly criticises th performance of the Russian Minister of Economy Oleg Lobov. "Meticulous critics have already calculated that in the heat of law-making Oleg Lobov tried to arrogate to himself at least half of all economic, social and cultural powers which, according to the law on the Council of Ministers, the government is vested with. No one knows how he intends to put all those powers into use," the newspaper writes.

TRUD carries an interview with Kiro Gligorov, first president of Macedonia. Responding to the question how he manages to protect his republic against the conflagration around it, Gligorov said: "First of all, we realised absolute senselessness of the current confrontation. It can lead to even greater casualties among peoples and countries of our region. This is why the problem of gaining long-awaited independence by Macedonia was settled only by peaceful means."

Shevardnadze Arrives for Summit With Yeltsin

Hopes For 'Warming' of Ties

LD1305212593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2000 GMT 13 May 93

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Luskanov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament, arrived in Moscow late this evening. On 14 May a Russian-Georgian summit-level meeting is to begin in the Kremlin in conditions of strict confidentiality. The main subject of the talks will be the future of Russian-Georgian relations and the war in Abkhazia. It is not impossible that these talks could mark a watershed in the history of the Georgian, Abkhazian, and Russian peoples.

[Begin recording] [Luskanov] What have you brought with you to Moscow, and do you have any specific plan for tomorrow's talks, on which much in Russian-Georgian relations depends?

[Shevardnadze] There is no specific plan. There is a striving, I think, both on the part of President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and on my own part, to achieve, at this stage in any case, the beginning of a certain warming in our relations, the normalization of Russian-Georgian relations, and to move further forwards. [end recording]

In the few hours remaining before the conversation between Shevardnadze and Yeltsin, no one, including the members of the delegation, has chosen to predict the results of the Moscow summit. Shevardnadze himself, in his own words, is in fairly optimistic mood.

May Seek Ukrainian Peacekeeping Troops

LD1405083193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0734 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—Problems of relations between Russia and Georgia will be discussed today by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Speaker of the Georgian Parliament Eduard Shevardnadze, who are to have a working meeting here today. ITAR- TASS has learned from trustworthy sources that they will also discuss problems linked with the stay of Russian troops on the territory of Georgia, particularly in Abkhazia. It is not ruled out that Shevardnadze will demand an immediate withdrawal of these troops from the conflict zone and their replacement by Ukrainian peace-keeping forces under U.N. aegis. The Georgian leader has reached preliminary agreement on this score with Leonid Kravchuk, the Ukrainian president. Moreover, it has been learned that the talks will also focus on ways to complete as quickly as possible the tripartite Russo-Georgian-Abkhazian talks on documents for the second summit conference on Abkhazia, in compliance with the final document of the Moscow meeting of September 3, 1992.

Addressing the Georgian Parliament on Thursday, Shevardnadze stated: "I don't want people to expect more from this meeting than possible". In his opinion, relations between the two states "are sufficiently complicated", but, nevertheless, there is practically nobody in Georgia, who does not share the belief that the two countries should cooperate. "The forthcoming meeting," the Georgian leader noted, "is so unprepared that much hopes should not be pinned on it. The main thing is to achieve warmer bilateral relations, to meet each other halfway, and to create a better background for the solution of the Abkhazian problem and for the final settlement of the Ossetian issue. I don't think we shall be able to sign any documents, let alone a package of documents, but it will be very good if we prove able to break the ground for this."

Shevardnadze said today in an interview, granted to the "Ostankino" TV network, that both sides wanted to achieve during today's meeting "at least some improvement of our relations and their normalisation. However, we have no concrete plan."

Asked about the possibility of an Abkhazian delegation being included in the dialogue, he noted: "I am ready to meet the Abkhazians already tomorrow. In principle, the conflict can be coped with."

The speaker of the Georgian Parliament said that "we do not intend to ignore the Russian factor".

Meeting Begins

LD1405083593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0812 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The working consultative meeting between Russian President Yeltsin and Speaker of the Georgian Parliament Eduard Shevardnadze, held at the Kremlin here today, began with an eye-to-eye talk between the two leaders.

At the beginning of the talk, Yeltsin moved to hold simultaneous negotiations at the level of premiers and ministers of defence and foreign affairs. The current consultations are expected to focus on ways to complete as quickly as possible the tripartite talks between Russia, Georgia and Abkhazia on the drafting of documents for the second summit conference on Abkhazia in keeping with the final document of the Moscow meeting of September 3, 1992. The consultations will also centre on problems of normalising Russo- Georgian relations.

Shevardnadze stated in Tbilisi the day before the negotiations that he did not "expect any special results from his meeting with Boris Yeltsin, because relations between Georgia and Russia remain complicated both due to the Abkhazian conflict and incidents with Russian troops in Georgia". At the same time, the Georgian leader stressed that he hoped "very much that the long-awaited thawing of relations between the two states will finally begin as a result of the meeting with the Russian president".

Kozyrev Interviewed on Bosnia, Other Issues

PM1405101893 Paris LE MONDE in French 14 May 93 pp1,3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Jan Krauze in Moscow on 12 May]

[Text] Moscow—What will the big powers do immediately after the referendum on the Vance-Owen plan being held by the Bosnian Serbs—a referendum which is expected to produce a "no?" In the interview which he granted us on Wednesday, 12 May, Mr. Kozyrev began by reaffirming the formula adopted during the visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, one week ago: "No measures, even tough ones, has been ruled out or decided in advance." This is a statement which has clearly not been given any substantial basis in the meantime. Mr. Kozyrev said that he has had several telephone conversations with French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe, and with Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen, representing the Twelve, and that he is in regular contact with the U.S. secretary of state: "Nobody is putting forward any practical proposal, other than in the form of questions to be debated; nobody is clearly backing a solution. I too am not prepared to make proposals based on the use of force." Mr. Kozyrev mentioned "one of the ideas which is in the air, in the press"—the lifting of the embargo on arms for the Muslims.

But Mr. Kozyrev immediately condemned it: According to him, such a decision would prompt the Bosnian Serbs to take advantage of their present great military superiority as quickly as possible and would rob them of any reason "to show restraint."

Does this mean that immediately after the referendum we will be in exactly the same position, without any prospect but to resume consultations for the umpteenth time? Mr. Kozyrev said that Russia does not want "to legitimize this referendum." But he nonetheless explained that "around the 16 or 17 May," after the Bosnian Serbs have had "another opportunity to give their verdict on the Vance-Owen plan," it will be appropriate "through the representatives in New York, through diplomatic channels, and by using the mechanism of the London Conference, so that Germany can play an important part, to draw up a series of political and possibly military measures which may involve constraint." These measures could then be submitted to the Security Council meeting of foreign ministers scheduled to take place in New York on 21 May.

By what miracle could new consultations among partners who are themselves incapable of drawing up a specific plan be successful? Mr. Kozyrev sighed, and talked of "the tragic impotence" which the world community is displaying in this case, and he added: "But what can be done?" However, he pointed out that the idea of an embargo imposed by Serbia on the Bosnian Serbs "prompted laughter" when he suggested it two weeks ago and that it has nonetheless been implemented. He added that Moscow still has "a few ideas" which he does not want to specify at this stage, immediately adding that at all events they "would not solve the problem," would not constitute an "ideal solution." (Moscow has already suggested placing observers on the borders between the Yugoslav Federation and Bosnia to ensure that Belgrade is indeed implementing an embargo on the Bosnian Serb fighters).

How much long will the debate go on while the slaughter continues? Mr. Kozyrev answered with another question: "Should we do something at all costs." What followed was a kind of argument based on the absurd: "The simplest thing is to drop a nuclear bomb, we have plenty of them and so have the Americans. Or carry out bombing raids. Or attack Sarajevo..." But does this mean it is just a question of waiting for the Muslims to admit complete defeat? "No, it is not exactly that," Mr. Kozyrev explained, "that would be the easiest thing." However, he immediately stressed, "discussions on a Near East settlement have been going on for 45 years. Resolution 242 itself is 30 years old—it is no longer in the first flush of youth, more in its prime." Is this a plea for great patience or a way of saying that the Bosnian crisis is as insoluble as the Israeli-Arab conflict? A bit of both, it seems.

Mr. Kozyrev also gave a lengthy explanation of the veto which Russia has just used, for the first time in nine years, to oppose a Security Council resolution on the funding of peacekeeping operations in Cyprus. This cannot be seen as a "warning" to the Western countries should the latter decide on an intervention in Bosnia: "It has nothing to do with it, it is strictly a financial issue." Mr. Kozyrev thinks it is "incomprehensible" that the Western countries should suddenly have felt it urgent to change a (voluntary) financial system practiced for 30 years, although this change "is certainly not likely to increase the chances of a settlement" in the Cyprus affair. He does not see why Russia should contribute to this funding (to the tune of $1.9 million) when it has "enormous expenses for keeping peace within the former USSR, for instance in Tajikistan, Georgia, and Moldova," and when it is now contributing major sums to the UN peacekeeping operations ($129 million in 1992). Especially, Mr. Kozyrev said, because Russia, which is still demanding a restructuring of its debt, does not have any money.

To be specific, by imposing their veto on a measure which would have cost them the relatively modest sum of $1.9 million, are the Russians not running the risk of the accusation of ingratitude toward the West? "We do not decide our foreign policy on the criteria of gratitude," Mr. Kozyrev immediately said, "but taking account the interests of peace, and our own interests." He pointed out that the United States still has a very big debt to the United Nations—an organization which it is now using extensively and nobody is thinking of criticizing it for this. Above all, Mr. Kozyrev regrets that the West has not yet learned to take into consideration the requirements of Russian domestic policy, of "its public opinion." "With regard to the deportation of Palestinians by Israel, we avoided pushing the United States to use its veto, and that was right," he added, regretting that the same was not done this time with Moscow. And he suggested "drawing a conclusion from this: the Security Council works best when its permanent members first agree and trust each other."

Questioned on Tajikistan, where the "democratic" Russian government has helped bring about the victory of the neocommunists, obtained by extremely brutal methods, Mr. Kozyrev refused to allow the question to be put in those terms. He said first that the Russian troops did not take part in the fighting, and in particular stressed that "it was not a question of choosing between communists and democrats or communists and Muslim fundamentalists," but between the only government "enjoying some legitimacy" and "complete chaos, Somalia-ization." "As with Bosnia," Mr. Kozyrev added, "we must be pragmatic."

Kozyrev Unable To Attend Council of Europe Meeting

LD1405110593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 14 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russia, like a number of other states of the former USSR, has the status of a specially invited guest to the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, to which it has applied for membership.

ITAR-TASS has learned that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev will not be able to speak in Strasbourg due to his busy schedule.

Ingredients of Administration's Bosnia Decision Eyed

PM1305133993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 May 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Golts article: "How Policy Is Made: Washington Makes the Decision"]

[Text] Washington—Someone wrote that it is easier to understand the Niebelungenlied if you imagine that Europe's Gothic cathedrals suddenly began fighting and feeling love and jealousy. What is currently happening in Washington can be pictured more vividly if you suppose that it is not people but buildings—the symbols of the United States—that are deciding U.S. policy on the Yugoslav crisis. This is the international problem that is today dominating the Clinton administration's activity.

The gray box housing the State Department is literally humming with tension, with a surfeit of information. And how! The secretary of state is holding endless talks with friends and allies, inciting them to a joint decision on a "strong response" to the Serbs. U.S. diplomats are repeating the following in the style of an incantation: "Under no circumstances will the United States act alone. This must be a NATO operation under UN auspices and supervision." They also add that now is precisely the time for the North Atlantic bloc to demonstrate its willingness to respond to fresh dangers. But, they hint clearly to their allies, the U.S. people may ask whether they should keep troops in Europe if the states there refuse to act decisively.

The world's largest building, the Pentagon, is outwardly keeping calm. The military department prefers for the most part to keep quiet, but intense work is also under way inside its offices. In the opinion of a high-ranking Pentagon official, people there are also counting on a joint operation with their allies. The point is, he explains, that the North Atlantic alliance already has the military and organizational structure to carry out such an operation. But what kind of operation will it be? Air strikes, not only against Bosnian Serb positions but also on Federal Republic of Yugoslavia territory? Will it be a peacemaking operation or another attempt to establish peace by force of arms?

The standard answer is as follows: "We are considering all options. The president makes the decision." However, countless leaks to the press from the Pentagon reaffirm that all possible options are being studied by the staff. The reports feature specific combined units and name dates for possible air operations. However, there are also people in the military department who have doubts about the prospect of a lengthy ground operation involving U.S. troops.

All possible proposals and projects are being accumulated in the austere building near the White House—the home of the National Security Council. It is is here that the options that will be submitted to the president are being worked on. And consideration is being given not only to approaches from government departments but also from numerous political science institutions whose headquarters are, naturally, also located in Washington. Right now all of them are submitting their ideas—from the extremely conservative Center for Security Problems, which is demanding immediate bombardment, to the moderate Brookings Institution.

Everyone, however, inside and outside the government does not tire of repeating: We are only making suggestions and giving advice; it is up to the president to make the decision. Clinton has to prove to Capitol Hill that his choice is the right one. The Congress is also currently conducting a very major analysis of the situation. A leader of the Congressional Research Service told me that in the last week alone several reports and responses have been prepared to specific questions from legislators regarding the situation in the former Yugoslavia.

The view expressed by a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee once again seems to be the common stance: The United States does not want to be the world's policeman. It does not even want to be the chief of police. It would like to be more of a mayor.

In addition to the White House and the Capitol, U.S. television plays an equal and possibly even a greater role in the decisionmaking process. It is dramatizing the situation to the full. Television is constantly showing politicians and experts discussing various options for action. Reports of the latest public opinion polls appear periodically. According to these polls most Americans view the idea of a military operation without enthusiasm.

Thus, a decision is gestating in Washington. The next few days will tell what that decision will be.

Christopher Comments at START Senate Hearing

PM1305141793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 May 93 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy report: "START II Treaty Benefits Everyone"]

[Text] Preliminary hearings in connection with the ratification of the START II Treaty have begun in the U.S. Congress. Secretary of State Warren Christopher was the first to address the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This is a historic agreement, he said, one which ensures an adequate level of security for both the United States and Russia and at the same time strengthens international stability and paradoxically removes nuclear arms control as the main issue in relations between the two countries.

START II is the logical extension and development of the START I Treaty, but whereas the first agreement envisages eliminating half of the heavy missile launchers, under the second they are all to be destroyed—along with the missiles themselves. According to the provisions of START II, MIRVed ICBM's, seen as the most destabilizing arms systems, are to cease to exist. In this connection Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate committee, said the following: "Without START I there would be no second treaty." These sentiments seem to predominate in the Russian parliament too. But there are grounds if not for alarm then for concern.

Having suddenly become subjects of world nuclear diplomacy following the breakup of the USSR, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus have for various reasons taken up disparate positions. Under the Lisbon Protocol to the START I Treaty they pledged to rid themselves of the nuclear weapons stationed on their territory, adopt nuclear-free status, and subscribe to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. That is, effectively to become states that do not have and do not aspire to have such weapons. In practice only the Belarusian side has gone all the way down that road. Kazakhstan, after ratifying START I, unexpectedly dragged its feet in considering membership of the "nonnuclear club." The Ukrainian authorities are for the time being making do with general declarations of intent without taking concrete, legally valid steps.

Meanwhile the Russian parliament ratified START I with the proviso that the treaty would only come into force once our immediate neighbors fulfilled their commitments. According to the head of the U.S. diplomatic service, legislators in the "refractory" republics will start examining these problems in the near future. However, the secretary of state recalled, there should be a time for everything—a time for discussion and a time for action...

According to him, the United States stands to gain from START II since the nuclear threat to it is considerably lessened. Russia, free of the burden of rapidly outdated arsenals, will be able to channel funds into maintaining smaller but more efficient and modern strategic forces, while at the same time developing a market economy; and its neighbors also stand to gain in terms of security from the considerable reduction in Russia's nuclear potential, Christopher concluded.

Gen Nikolayev Interviewed on Washington Visit Results

PM1405095593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 93 p 3

[Interview with Colonel General A. Nikolayev, first deputy chief of the Armed Forces General Staff, by Aleksandr Golts in Washington; date not given: "Strengthening Spirit of Mutual Trust and Partnership. Colonel General A. Nikolayev, First Deputy Chief of Russian Armed Forces General Staff, Answers KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Correspondent's Questions"]

[Text] [Golts] Andrey Ivanovich! The Russian Federation General Staff delegation's visit to Washington seems to herald a new phase in U.S.-Russian relations. Political declarations are now being filled with substance in a sensitive area like the military sphere. So what kind of schedule are the representatives of the two countries' staffs planning for progress in this direction? How will cooperation develop in the future?

[Nikolayev] The meeting and talks between the delegations of the Russian Federation Armed Forces General Staff and the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff [JCS] in Washington 3-8 May 1993 undoubtedly herald a new phase in Russian-U.S. relations, which are developing in the spirit of the accords reached first in Camp David, then in Washington, and last in Vancouver. Now is the time when we must set about putting into practice the provisions of the declaration proclaimed by Presidents B.N. Yeltsin and B. Clinton in Vancouver 4 April 1993, a declaration underlining their determination to broaden collaboration and consultations between Russia and the United States in all spheres, including the sphere of defense and security. The specific substance of this work will be determined by the results of the meeting between the Russian and U.S. defense ministers scheduled for late June this year. We expect our cooperation with the United States in the military sphere to develop successfully and dynamically.

[Golts] One of the most important aspects of collaboration is a correct approach to military concepts and comparison of these concepts. Was this kind of analysis carried out during these consultations?

[Nikolayev] Improving understanding and confidence-building between our military departments undoubtedly depend to a considerable extent on Russia and the

United States having a correct understanding of one another's doctrinal aims and military concepts, making it possible to avoid erroneous decisions. Considerable attention was paid to this problem during the meeting between the delegations from the Russian Federation Armed Forces General Staff and the U.S. JCS.

During the talks and unofficial conversations, the Russian and U.S. sides briefed one another on their approaches to the matter of military doctrines and strategies. The exchange of opinions on these problems was undoubtedly exceptionally useful. I must admittedly point out that some differences of terminology did show up during the discussions and in this connection it was decided to forthwith exchange definitions used by both sides in the field of military art and strategy in order to facilitate mutual understanding. We did not notice any other elements that made it difficult to conduct dialogue between the negotiating parties.

[Golts] The fact that these talks coincided with one of the most acute moments in the Yugoslav crisis was an accident. However, events in Yugoslavia show that the world has not become a safe place following the end of the confrontation between Moscow and Washington. Was the question of the possibility of coordinating the two countries' efforts in settling similar conflicts and carrying out peacemaking operations raised?

[Nikolayev] Yes indeed, the talks did coincide with an acute crisis in Yugoslavia. But I would like to point out that our mutual desire to expand and deepen Russian-U.S. military cooperation can only promote the successful resolution of the Yugoslav question and any other crises that may arise in various parts of the world. One must not forget that the Russian Federation and the United States are two states that are permanent members of the UN Security Council. If they, along with all permanent members of the UN Security Council and other UN members, take the same approach to the question of ways of settle international crises, you can be sure that the success of such peacemaking activity would be assured. At any rate the chances of success would be far greater than could have been expected during the "cold war" era. We are not ruling out the possibility of our Armed Forces being used in various peacemaking operations, including in Yugoslavia, if a political decision is adopted to that effect. I stress that this is only possible if such a political decision is adopted by the Russian president and the Supreme Soviet.

[Golts] In your view, are there still issues on which there is insufficient understanding between the sides?

[Nikolayev] Of course, there is a whole range of problems whose resolution Russia and the United States approach differently.

At the same time I would like to point out that the course of the first staff talks [shtabnyye peregovory] in our countries' history showed that, if both sides so desire, there are no questions that we cannot find ways to resolve or at least where existing disagreements cannot be lessened. During the talks we also realized that a mutually acceptable solution that does not violate the national interests of both sides can always be found by means of coordination and compromise. And, most importantly, during the exchange of opinions and the drafting of the joint final documents on the results of the talks, the sides concluded that we have by no means exhausted the reserves for broadening mutual understanding between Russia and the United States in the military sphere and, in this context, the upcoming official visit to the United States—the first in the history of relations between our countries—by Army General P.S. Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister, must be expected to open a new chapter in Russian-U.S. military cooperation and strengthen the spirit of mutual trust and partnership between our states' armed forces.

[Golts] Were matters pertaining to preparations for the Russian Federation defense minister's visit discussed during your consultations?

[Nikolayev] A.A. Kokoshin, Russian Federation first deputy defense minister, will be paying a working visit to the United States in the near future and the official visit by Army Gen. P.S. Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister, will take place at the end of June, as I pointed out earlier. Our delegation was given the task of making thorough preparations for this visit, and during our talks we spent considerable time and attention on this question. The decisions reached and the documents prepared for our defense minister's visit allow us to expect this visit to be a crucial moment in relations between our two countries and our armed forces.

IZVESTIYA Profiles Ambassador Pickering

PM1305134193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Mikheyev report: "Thomas Pickering Is the New U.S. Ambassador to Russia"]

[Text] After two months spent on confirmations and hearings of various kinds in the U.S. Congress, Thomas Pickering has been confirmed as the new American ambassador to Russia by the supreme legislative organ. Tuesday evening the senators put the final touches to approving his candidacy.

T. Pickering's professional qualifications are above all praise. In 1953, one year after graduating from Bowdoin College, he took a master's degree in the diplomatic school of Tufts University. His academic baggage contains another higher degree taken at Melbourne University (Australia) on the basis of a dissertation again devoted to international relations. Then, in performance of diplomatic service duties, he went from capital to capital on various continents—he was U.S. ambassador in Israel, Jordan, Nigeria, El Salvador, and India.

In 1989 he was appointed U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations by President Bush.

A particular merit of the ambassador is his ability in foreign languages: He has a command of French, Spanish, and Arabic as well as Swahili.

Thomas Pickering vigorously supported offers to Russia of "aid packages," calling this money "a good investment." He also supports the principle of respecting the inalienable rights of the section of the Russian-speaking population outside Russian Federation borders at the present moment.

At the hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee T. Pickering stated quite categorically: "It is the duty of the United States to help Russia achieve success in its efforts to implement democratic and market reforms. As the world's leading industrial democracy, the United States bears special responsibility for economic assistance to Russia."

Grachev Meets Turkish Chief of Staff

PM1305134793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 May 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Ankara, 12 May—Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, who is paying an official visit to Turkey, met Dogan Gures, chief of the General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces, on Tuesday [11 May]. The sides discussed the state of bilateral relations and the situation in the region's "hot spots."

Answering journalists' questions after the meeting, Grachev said that Russian troops are definitely not taking part in the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict. He pointed out that there is only one Russian airborne division left in Azerbaijan, and it will be withdrawn this year. Russia's military doctrine is defensive, the minister stressed. The Russian Federation does not regard anyone as an enemy. Grachev indicated that all contentious issues should be resolved at the negotiating table. He underlined that his visit to the Turkish 3d Army in eastern Anatolia has nothing to do with any fears.

Turkish Armed Forces Chief of General Staff Gures noted that the talks were very useful.

Azerbaijan Urged To Hand Over Convicted Soldiers

LD1305200293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1825 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 13 May (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Federation Foreign Ministry made the following statement today:

"In September 1992, Azerbaijani authoritites arrested on the territory of that republic former servicemen of the Russian Federation Armed Forces: Senior Lieutenant Semion, Senior Sergeant Tukish, and Privates Yevstigneyev, Kudinov, Lisovoy, and Filipov, who had gone AWOL from their place of service and taken part in combat operations of Armenian armed formations in the area of battles for Nagorno-Karabakh. They are being charged with committing dangerous crimes.

"According to available reports, on 12 May, the Azerbaijani court sentenced five of the above defendants to capital punishment—the supreme penalty—and Semion to 15 years of deprivation of liberty. Attorneys for the convicts lodged petitions for pardon or commutation of the sentence.

"Without attempting to give a legal assessment of this case and moved by humanitarian feelings alone, the Russian side appealed to authorities of the Azerbaijani republic many times, and at different levels, urging them to show humanism in deciding the future of the above Russian citizens, to be merciful, and hand them over to relevant Russian authorities. The Russian Embassy in Baku, Foreign Ministry, Defense Ministry, and military procuracy made such appeals. Russian President Boris Yeltsin wrote a personal letter on this matter.

"The Russian Federation Foreign Ministry has been instructed to request that authorities of the Azerbaijani Republic hand over the convicts to Russian justice to serve their sentences. This would be in line with modern standards of humanism toward individuals who have committed crimes and with appropriate provisions of the international pact on civil and political rights and of CSCE documents. Such a step would be perceived rather positively in Russia."

Navy Condemns Pay Sanctions Against Black Sea Crew

LD1305165293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] The Russian Navy press center has condemned the decision of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry to introduce financial sanctions against Black Sea Fleet servicemen who have been discharged to the reserve. The fact of the matter is that in a directive of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense, each serviceman of the Black Sea Fleet who is discharged to the reserve is being made to recover the difference between the maintenance of a serviceman of the Black Sea Fleet and the Ukrainian Navy, obtained from October 1992. This debt, in the opinion of the Ukrainian military, was created allegedly so that servicemen of the Black Sea Fleet were paid maintenance based on Russian norms, and therefore they received greater sums than Ukrainian naval servicemen. The Russian Navy press center described this directive as an attempt to create conditions for the disintegration of the Black Sea Fleet and to compel its personnel to take the Ukrainian oath.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Relations With Ukraine

LD1305210293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1530 GMT 13 May 93

[Report on interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin by unidentified correspondent;

place and date not given; Adamishin speaks in Russian fading into English translation—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] For Russia, relations with Ukraine are not just important but a priority. A statement was made in an interview with Radio Moscow by the Russian deputy foreign minister, Anatoliy Adamishin. He made a three-day working visit to Ukraine as a special envoy of President Yeltsin.

[Adamishin] "During the visit the purpose was not to resolve some concrete practical matters, but to try to see on the spot what can be done to improve bilateral relations because neither Moscow nor Kiev are satisfied with their present state. I also had to discuss how to work in the framework of the CIS. I must admit that in Kiev I was given a very good, hospitable reception. We talked with President Leonid Kravchuk for over one hour. I exchanged opinions with Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. I also met the head of parliament, Ivan Plyushch, and many representatives of political parties and public movements.

"On the basis of all this information I drew the main conclusion: Ukraine wants a breakthrough in relations with Russia, not simply their improvement. The main thing is that both countries have every condition for normalizing these relations, moreover, to make them even stronger for the benefit of both countries. Today nothing prevents Russia and Ukraine from resolving all the problems that have accumulated."

[Announcer] Still, problems remain. From time to time Kiev and Moscow sharply criticize each other, accuse each other of breaking agreements, and so on.

[Adamishin] "It seems to me that problems have accumulated that to a certain extent poison our relations. Frames of mind are also to blame for this. I think it's an open secret that there are people in Russia who think: Oh, you want to be separate from us, want to become independent? Then get on with it!

"On the other hand there are also plenty of people in Ukraine whose national consciousness at times reaches the level of self-destruction. For example, the Ukrainian leading physicist (Paton) says that they've torn all ties with the Russian National Examination Commission. But science cannot tear its ties. Scientific theses are sent only in Ukrainian. How can one speak of broad contacts in such conditions? This is just one example. But many people are beginning to realize that building tall fences between Ukraine and Russia means damaging their own country."

[Announcer] Do you think it's important for Russians to understand how to get along with independent Ukraine?

[Adamishin] "We in Russia should realize that the independence of Ukraine is here to stay, that we'll have to deal with it as with an independent state. And it is possible to build truly good relations only on this basis. I think that in their turn Ukrainians realize that self-isolation, the disruption of ties, open opposition to Russia, can satisfy some feelings but is counterproductive. Besides this there are also actual problems, nuclear weapons, the division of the Black Sea Fleet, the foreign debt, property. I think that all of these problems should be placed on the negotiating table in an attempt to resolve them together, that is, to remove the extraneous features of the past two years, when, as Leonid Kravchuk put it, our relations took a somewhat unfavorable start." [passage omitted]

[Announcer] You said that one of your tasks during the visit to Kiev was to discuss cooperation within the framework of the CIS. What's Ukraine's approach to the matter?

[Adamishin] "As for ties with Russia, even the opposition in Ukraine—at least, I was told this—favors their improvement. As for the CIS, here opinions vary greatly. Official Kiev stands for the CIS, but as an economic alliance the leader of the influential public movement Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement], Vyacheslav Chornovil, does not believe in it at all. He thinks that the CIS has not proved any good, and that only bilateral relations are necessary. My personal opinion is that there are no reasons to dramatize the situation. The CIS has now found a very good formula, namely, those who want to do more, do so. Those who are not ready for greater integration today can remain at their own level, but they should not prevent others from establishing closer ties. It is my conviction that the CIS is not a civilized form of divorce but a form of civilized life in the future."

[Announcer] That was the gist of an interview with the Russian deputy foreign minister, Anatoliy Adamishin.

Developments in Dniester Region Analyzed

MK1305123493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 20, 16 May 93 (Signed to Press 11 May) p A12

[Yefim Bershin report: "Via Chisinau!"]

[Text] The Russian leadership has made a decision to suspend direct contacts with the Dniester Region. Henceforth, all dealings with the region will be conducted only via Chisinau. One reason for the decision is that talks with Moldova were foiled for the first time through the fault of the Dniester Region.

Along parallel lines with the events in Russia, the communist opposition in the Dniester Republic, which hitherto had been split into numerous parties, unions, and committees, united by setting up the "Union of Public Organizations, Political Parties, and Movements for the Protection of the Dniester Moldovan Republic [DMR]." Vasiliy Yakovlev, known for his support for the State of Emergency Committee in August 1991, was made the union's head, after which the republic's leaders had to take pains explaining to the press that Yakovlev did not express the opinion of the Dniester government.

By putting forward unacceptable demands, Yakovlev managed to foil the talks with Moldova that were conducted at the request of the Dniester Moldovan Republic's Supreme Soviet by an expert commission under Vice President Aleksandr Karaman and State Secretary Valeriy Litskay. This served to intensify in the extreme the infighting between the advocates of the DMR's full independence, on which representatives of the union insist, and those arguing for a confederation with Moldova, which line is pursued by Karaman and Litskay. The opposition demands that President Igor Smirnov dismiss his state secretary and wind up the talks with Moldova on setting up a confederation.

These demands are being voiced against the backdrop of provocations by the Moldovan Popular Front. The latest scandal was triggered by reports carried by the Moldovan secret service that the Popular Front, together with the Romanian intelligence service, is setting up terrorist groups to stage a coup in Chisinau and to engage in sabotage in the Dniester Region and adjacent areas of Ukraine. This course of events clearly plays into the hands of the opponents of talks on both sides.

If the talks are brought to an end, Russia would lose its authority as a guarantor of political settlement in the Dniester Region. The other parties to last year's quadripartite agreement—Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine—might try to force Russia out of the negotiating process by claiming that Russia is unable to cope with its peacekeeping functions. This suggestion is confirmed by some pronouncements made by spokesmen of the Moldovan and Romanian governments, and also by their increased contacts with Kiev.

CSCE representatives, who are presently shuttling between Moldova and the Dniester Region, are beginning to intervene in the situation more and more energetically. Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, said during her stay in Moldova: "It is not ruled out that the Council of Europe would resort to diplomatic pressure on Russia as was done when the Baltic states seceded from the USSR." To avoid foreign policy complications, Russia is exerting pressure on the Dniester Region, threatening to withdraw its peacekeeping forces and to sever ties in the event of their refusal to negotiate.

Thus, the recalcitrant opposition in the Dniester Region is pushing the republic into a corner by impeding talks. But people with a Bolshevik mentality don't care. They are hardly concerned for the republic's independence, either, because while putting forward the slogan of full independence, Yakovlev himself calls for the Dniester Region to join Russia, and Bolshakov, his partner in the union, argues for joining Ukraine.

General Lebed has so far also behaved inconsistently. As a representative of Russian interests in the Dniester Region, it would appear that he should rely on the advocates of talks with Moldova, including President Smirnov, the government, and the DMR Supreme Soviet. He preferred, however, to side with entirely different forces.

DPRK Envoy to China Cited on Nuclear Issues

SK1405025893 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] DPRK Ambassador to Beijing Chu Chang-chun pointed out that he is willing to hold talks with the United States concerning the nuclear problem. In his news conference with reporters, he said that the more quickly U.S.-DPRK talks are held, the more the nuclear problem will be rapidly solved.

Ambassador Chu held a news conference concerning the UN Security Council's resolution, demanding that the DPRK accept nuclear inspection, and that it reconsider its decision to withdraw from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

The UN Security Council may impose new international sanctions on the DPRK because of its rejection to the resolution. Ambassador Chu, however, said: If it imposes such sanctions on the DPRK, we will regard it as a declaration of war.

Eritrea Recognized; Yeltsin To Miss Independence Ceremony

LD1305161993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1546 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on Thursday recognising Eritrea, a former Ethiopian province, as an independent and sovereign state, but will most evidently miss the ceremony of proclaiming independence of the new country on May 24 because of heavy working schedule, according to Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Russia will be represented at the ceremony by "a special envoy of a high rank", Grigory Karasin, head of the Foreign Ministry African Department, told a briefing on Thursday.

Russia is ready to develop relations with Eritrea which proclaimed independence at a nationwide referendum and the Foreign Ministry is now working on establishing diplomatic relations with the new state and exchanging embassies, according to Karasin.

Eritrea "managed to overcome the syndrome of mistrust to Russia" which was caused by military cooperation with the former Soviet Union and the former pro-Soviet regime in Ethiopia, according to Rashid Ibragimov, a Foreign Ministry representative who monitored the holding of the referendum in Eritrea.

The leadership of the new state is displaying interest in developing cooperation with Russia in a wide range of issues", he added.

Political Issues

Rutskoy Hits Recent Drafts of Constitution

PM1305121393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Article by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy: "The Constitution We Adopt Will Decide Our Destiny. Path of Consensus or Conflict? Authors Have Not Been Established. The Shakhray-Alekseyev Version. Goodwill Needed"]

[Text] What was quite definitely to be expected is happening—the process of adopting the new Russian fundamental law has become a battlefield for intensive clashes. Both as a citizen and as vice president I want to put to readers my vision of this new turn in Russia's political life.

I have always thought that the official draft new constitution is a very stable bridge between the president and the congress, and a sphere of possible cooperation. And this sole bridge can still be chosen now, rather than blowing it up.

When at the first Union congress Mikhail Gorbachev headed the Union Constitutional Commission, it was fated never to meet—not once! Nor was the first president of the USSR encouraged to embark on a new constitution by the "foremen of perestroyka," who now consider themselves to have been its "founding fathers." No weighty political initiative was put forward by deputies from the interregional group.

The result is well-known—a world power was smashed in an atmosphere of the impotence of some and the deliberate efforts of others...

The tragic collapse of the USSR was a terrible warning: A federal Russia vitally needs a solid edifice of firm rules and binding norms to guarantee the effectiveness of the body politic, and the free and worthy development of the individual and of the institutions of a civil society.

The draft Russian fundamental law was created by the Constitutional Commission set up by the First Congress. It was headed from the very outset by Boris Yeltsin, and it was he who submitted the draft to the Fifth Congress in the fall of 1991.

Back then the Russian president made a very high assessment of the new constitution. "Life itself," he said, "has removed the differences between the various drafts—the main provisions have been broadly taken on board by public opinion." He went on to speak of a "quite strong document" and about the fact that the "draft submitted is geared to the future and is profoundly innovative." It "contains reliable legal guarantees against totalitarianism, the dominance of ideology, and against violence elevated to the rank of state policy" and was discernibly based on "Russian humanistic traditions that have emerged over the course of centuries..." In 1992 the president submitted to the Constitutional Commission a score of amendments to the draft. In October 1992 the draft was approved, and virtually all his amendments were taken into account. Certain chapters were gone over again in the course of a line-by-line debate in the Supreme Soviet chambers.

I want to draw attention to four strong aspects of the Constitutional Commission's draft.

First, it is a supremely legitimate [pravomernyy] document, in whose creation the Congress, the president, the Constitutional Commission, the Supreme Soviet, and the country's public took part.

Second, its norms have been through a long process of legal fine-tuning, and its formulas have been improved with every discussion. The draft itself was written relatively quickly—I recall the interest with which I read the first versions back in the fall of 1990 when I was still a people's deputy. There were imperfections and heated disputes. Today the text looks far more mature and substantial.

Third, it is closer to reality. Many of its provisions are being utilized in existing legislation. This means that the adoption of this constitution would not lead to a revolutionary revision of or a "thoroughgoing" break with fundamentals... In my view, it would ensure organic onward progress—without any jerkiness or convulsions.

Fourth—and this is probably the most important point—the draft combines various views and philosophies, combining them into a truly Social Contract. It is hard to imagine anyone in our multifaceted political life seriously hoping that the country would "lightly and easily" accept the only correct, monopolistic, constitutional "truth," which is not a synthesis of philosophies but a convenient cover for uncontrolled actions by just one political force and the strata that support it. You will agree that genuine democracy and profound market transformations are only possible if there is steady national consensus in society. The new Russian constitution must be the core of that consensus. And, conversely, the continuation of strong-arm politics and the supplanting of society's interests by the political demands and guidelines of one radically oriented grouping will finally undermine the stability of society and the state, and ultimately kill off reform.

IZVESTIYA recently published another draft constitution. It is not entirely clear who wrote it—no indication as to authorship was provided. But official channels of information now operate selectively—not only the vice president but parliament and the Constitutional Commission have not officially received any drafts. Obviously someone "forgot" to send them in—on the basis that people could read them in the newspapers. All this is reminiscent of recent times, when "supreme decisions" were adopted in an atmosphere of shady secrecy, and people were strictly drip-fed information on the basis of their loyalty and "access." That way it was easier to pull the wool over people's eyes.

Actually, there has been no new initiative. Back in spring of last year, on the eve of the Sixth Congress, the Sobchak and Shakhray versions appeared. These added to the number of versions received by the Constitutional Commission's working group. Knowing the aforesaid politicians, I realized that they would not retreat even after the Congress had adopted just one draft for examination.

The press and the airwaves at the time were already engaged in an "attack" [nakat] on the Constitutional Commission's draft. This only died down after the president publicly returned to his first brainchild. It seemed as though forces with an interest in a clear and generally accepted constitutional order would rally around it.

But, clearly, the consensus scenario did not suit some people. Now once again the newspapers and television are full of abuse about coordinated work, which is compared to "toilet paper" and called "illiterate" or "half-hearted," or even "fascistic"... The inconvenient politicians and specialists who have given us this text are being slapped in the face with malicious ease.

This approach cannot fail to raise eyebrows. After all, the draft is just the same, even improved.

But the country's most important eyebrows moved in a different direction. How's that for all these principles!

I would recall that the supreme representative assembly has been moving steadily toward the adoption of a new constitution. The Fifth Congress took cognizance of it; the Sixth approved its main provisions; the Seventh basically recognized the additional work done on the draft and determined that a special congress would be devoted to the new constitution in 1993; and the Eighth instructed the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the Constitutional Commission to coordinate a draft of the new constitution's main provisions between themselves within three months and to send it for coordination by Russian federation components.

A decision was made recently to convene the Congress of People's Deputies in the fall of 1993 to examine and adopt a new Russian Federation constitution.

But what about now? Instead of the patient coordination of the main provisions using a wise statesmanlike approach, a society that is tired of squabbles is being presented with criticism of the efforts that have been made, while the "only possible" Kremlin alternative is extolled. But this peaceful "initiative" is reminiscent of a war of attrition. Just think about who is impeding state reform, throwing all its stages into disorder and sowing discord among everyone. I think the conclusions will be obvious.

The authors of the alternative draft are, as it were, officially unknown, but attentive readers will realize just who they are without too much difficulty. Just as, incidentally, they will be able to spot the multitude of major flaws in the initiative product of Shakhray-Alekseyev and their aides.

The acceptable parts of it are largely a rehash of the Constitutional Commission draft. But the original, distinctive parts make us think seriously about the possible direction in which events might develop if this constitution went through. I shall dwell on the most dangerous provisions.

Liberals and radicals zealously uphold the principle of the separation, mutual limitation, and the counterbalancing of powers. But this aspect is discarded in the alternative draft. The form of rule is deliberately written in such a way as to upset the balance of powers and to favor a superpresidential regime.

The president can dissolve parliament at his own discretion. In the personnel sphere he only needs to seek agreement when appointing the head of the government. But even then, a failure by parliament to agree with the nomination for premier can be interpreted by the president as a "crisis of state power" and used to dissolve the deputies. Federal ministers are appointed by the president alone. The structure of government is determined by just one man.

Do you recall the fate of the constitutional edict on merging the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the KGB? Judging from the "new" draft, the lesson has been learned—now such edicts can be signed without any need to worry about their being subsequently repealed. The president will unconditionally head up the executive, without having any specific political responsibility for it.

The parliament is termed Russia's "supreme representative federal organ." The words "sole lawmaking" have been left out. Accidentally? Shakhray would not permit such blunders just like that. This means that further organs which will be "lawmaking" are to be set up. We know what this organ will be—the president. He also enjoys powers which are characteristic of judges. Moreover, he also arbitrates in disputes between the Federation and components of Russia, and acts as judge in disputes between state organs in the regions. He can even independently suspend Russian laws.

The democracies of the civilized world have not known such a practice. On the other hand, they have known dictatorships and monarchies.

Hatred of parliamentarianism lets the authors of the "initiative version" down badly. Worldwide, legislators' chief concerns, in addition to passing laws, include monitoring the expenditure of the state exchequer and participating in personnel appointments. Neither will be found in the Shakhray-Alekseyev version. Deputies are not even entitled to submit finance bills: That is the exclusive right of the president and the government.

The lower chamber—the State Duma—is dangerously weakened, although it is the lower chamber, representing the nation as a whole, which is required to play the most substantial role. On the other hand, the vesting of specially significant powers in the upper chamber (the Council of the Federation), where the regions, with their specific local interests, are represented, evokes dangerous parallels. The role of such a superchamber was played by the SFRY Presidency, formed out of the former Yugoslav republics. In the last months of the USSR's existence such organs—representing the republics—were set up in our country, too. The results are well known: Not even confederations remain from either the USSR or the SFRY...

Nor does the "initiative version" forget about those who "get in the way." It is not only parliament which has fallen victim to the drafters's current prejudices: The post of vice president is absent from the draft, and the powers of the Constitutional Court are seriously restricted.

...I cannot get rid of the feeling when I read the text that I am looking at a garment hastily stitched together to meet an individual order.

The mechanical transfer into the new constitution of all three federation treaties—the treaties with the republics, with the krays (oblasts) and cities, and with the autonomous formations—also raises questions.

Much has been said about the constitutional rather than the treaty-based nature of our federation. While paying due tribute to the Federation Treaty I would stress again that Russia was not reestablished anew by its signing. The powers of state authority were merely demarcated anew. That very valuable innovation should be enshrined without fail in Russia's new supreme law, and done so best of all by combining the content of the treaties into a single connected text. We would thereby stress the equality of all parties to the federation—which are equally responsible for the future of the fatherland.

But perhaps the markedly literal transfer of the Federation Treaty is loaded with special meaning? The forgotten and buried Union Constitution appeared, after all, during the process of furious refashioning of the Union Treaty shortly before the disintegration of the USSR...

The cynical arguments by the active participants in the events in Belovezhskaya Forest and now by the drafters of the "initiative version" that the official draft was written by the commission of a congress elected "in another state" do raise doubts. For them it is no longer their state.

Such political dichotomy is dangerous to society. Our society has no other state.

I regard the line of completely and ostentatiously disregarding the Congress and the Supreme Soviet as incorrect. The 25 April referendum did not give consent to early elections. All the talk about the "new legitimacy" of the executive branch and the "worthlessness" of the representative branch is pure intrigue. If we want to live in a rule-of-law state, the president and the congress, as two realities of the present day, must find a way of coexisting and collaborating.

It is essential to reach urgent agreement on joint completion of work on the draft Russian constitution. Such work can be centered on agreement on the basic provisions of the draft and reliance on the cited decree of the Eight Congress.

Only if there is good will will it be possible to find the sought-after agreement between citizens and the state, between declared rights and real guarantees of their exercise, between the president and parliament, between the federation and its constituent parts, between liberals and socialists, between advocates of a strong state and advocates of self-government, between back-to-the-soil slavophiles and Westernizers. In most cases, in my view, the Constitutional Commission has found acceptable solutions which need to be enshrined as quickly as possible.

I am surprised: Many of our politicians have a real flair for foreign diplomacy, but for some reason few people talk about the vital need for domestic political diplomacy. The congress is a complex organism, but, I think, the deputies could respond to a call for dialogue. But provided this is a call rather than an ultimatum or peremptory bellow. A self-critical assessment of their own aspirations on both sides would help here.

It is advisable to continue the article-by-article discussion of the actual draft Basic Law by the Supreme Soviet in order to complete this work in the current session and have it adopted finally at the congress in September-October.

The solution of the question of new elections can be approached after the adoption of the new constitution. But the elections must be simultaneous, because Russia will not be able to sustain a situation where the different branches of power occupy different ends of the political spectrum. The people's vote of confidence must be cast in conditions of real choice and competition involving all branches of power rather than just one part of it.

Without such renewal we will be unable, I think, to attain agreement or restraint on the part of the basic political tendencies. And then, God forbid, civil confrontation could become even fiercer...

It is the new constitution—a clear platform of common civil accord in the name of order and democratic development—which can bar the way to destruction.

Zorkin Warns Against Change to Constitution

LD1305164393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2005 GMT 12 May 93

["Excerpt" of speech by Russian Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin at a conference of leaders of representative bodies of Russia in Moscow on 12 May;

from the "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] I keep hearing different views on the referendum. People say: if you had lowered the barrier on the third and fourth questions, we would have already had general elections by now. Or, if you had raised the barrier on the first and the second questions, we would not have got into the present situation. But you should understand this perfectly—you are the heads of the main bodies of power in your regions. You trust the Constitutional Court to solve disputes on whether this or that situation is consistent with the Constitution. We have sworn an oath of allegiance to the Constitution, whatever its shortcomings—even if it is patchy, as some say.

When I speak of my attitude toward the Constitution, people say, for instance, that the chairman of the Constitutional Court defends the Brezhnev Constitution. Do you really want me to come forward and say that this Constitution is good for nothing and that I will not observe it? But I have sworn to it. And all of us, in general, have sworn an oath of allegiance to this Constitution—you, I, and all of us. We do not have another choice. Therefore, guided by the Constitution, we have adopted a decision that the first two [referendum] questions should not imply any changes to the Constitution. That is the first thing.

But there was another reason that the media did not say a word about for some reason. Some particular opinions about our decision were widely publicized all over the country. I am getting more and more convinced—on the basis of my conversations with some of you and other people from the regions whom I have been meeting—the reasons for our decision were not explained properly. But the Constitutional Court's decision, the resolution on this question, said the referendum's questions were not of an unambiguous nature. Therefore, the answers to them are not unambiguous either.

I should say here that radicalism is now becoming the main danger, and the unconstitutional interpretation of the results of the referendum will have far-reaching consequences for today's process of making improvements to the Constitution.

This is very dangerous in my opinion. It may become a simply tragic danger when in attempting to create an ideal constitution, regions are now being drawn into the conflicts along with the central level. I tell you that what is happening in Udmurtia and the trouble in Chelyabinsk are because the case is in the Constitutional Court.

I think we must all think about the fact that the radical side-stepping is a stepping aside from the Constitution. Consequently, we are dooming our citizens, Russian citizens, and all Russia to disaster, gloom, and new cataclysms.

If we do not stop to think and do not concertedly find forces to curb anyone who wants to drop out of the Constitution and impose on the people another ideal future—a sudden change following advice from abroad and within the country and wherever—I do not know what will happen to us. If we do not find within ourselves the spiritual force, the effort of will, to avert these unilateral moves, tomorrow it will be too late—tomorrow it will be possible to impose anything you like with the aid of a unilateral will. A society that has once swallowed unconstitutional methods will not perhaps for many years work its way back to constitutionalism.

Constitutional Court Member Criticizes Zorkin

LD1305202893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 13 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In the run-up to a possible examination by the Constitutional Court of the appeal from the Russian parliament's Soviet of the Republic questioning the constitutionality of the president's actions in adopting a new constitution, [E.M.] Ametistov, a member of the Constitutional Court, criticized Court Chairman [Valeriy] Zorkin. In Ametistov's view, Zorkin repeats the same pattern of behavior, preempting both the Court's actions and its decisions. It is known that a few days ago Zorkin said that the Constitutional Court would not let the president's actions go unchallenged.

This was a report from the Ekho Moskvy radio station.

Yeltsin Aide on Working Commission's Task

PM1305154593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with S.A. Filatov, leader of Russian president's administration, by Vasiliy Kononenko; place and date not given: "A New Referendum Could Decide the Constitution's Fate, Sergey Filatov, Leader of the President's Administration, Believes"]

[Text] It is already becoming obvious that President B. Yeltsin's activeness in the matter of adopting the new Russian Federation Constitution is immediately parried at every step by the representative power. On 12 May, for example, at the conference of leaders of soviets of subjects of the Federation R. Khasbulatov, speaker of parliament, commented on these actions in very harsh terms. It is impossible to take a different view of the phrases that he used, like "unnecessary complication," "drawing the regions into these games," "smearing with collective guilt," etc. The list of members of the working commission on finalizing the draft of the new constitution, disseminated by the president's press service 12 May, could also provide further grounds for all sorts of suspicions.

[Kononenko] Sergey Aleksandrovich, how, according to which criteria, was the makeup of this working commission formed?

[Filatov] The initiative came, naturally, from the president. He signed the invitation telegrams. Since it is a question of a working organ, the representative principle was chosen: Representatives not of all 88 subjects of the Federation but just of some of them were included on the commission. Naturally the wishes of individual leaders of regions were also taken into account here. For example, such a desire was expressed by the leaders of the Republic of Karelia—V. Stepanov; the Komi Republic—Yu. Spiridonov; and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia)—M. Nikolayev. You will also see from the published list that individual regions are represented on the commission by leaders of the local executive or representative power. Representatives of the Supreme Soviet, the government, and the presidential structures and jurists are also present here. That is, we have sought to involve in this work all the interested sides and forces in society.

But, in my view, the actual procedure for the work on the draft constitution seems a more important issue. During trips to the regions the commission members must take into account all comments and suggestions on the draft, while the three working groups which have been formed must coordinate the interests of the individual regions and of that part of the constitution that is directly linked with them. A plenary session of representatives of the subjects of the Federation, who will be nominated locally, is expected after 5 June in order to complete this work and proceed to initialing this very important document.

[Kononenko] Could you explain why the inclusion of a number of officials on the commission is attended by this note: "by agreement"?

[Filatov] You should not read anything into this. If, let us say, it is a question of officials of the representative power or the judiciary, then political tact has been shown in this case. That is, they can agree to participate in the commission's work or refuse.

[Kononenko] The presence of "power" ministers on various commissions arouses the traditionally heightened interest. Why was their participation needed this time?

[Filatov] By the nature of their activity, above all, these ministers possess great information, for example, about the situation in a particular region, etc. For this same reason they are also on the Security Council. Second, they are also needed on this commission as specialists in their own sphere. Because, as you know, not the least role in any constitution is allocated to institutions such as the army and the organs of law and order. The same also applies to the judicial system.

[Kononenko] A definite juridical basis is necessary when forming such organs. On which norm-setting acts did the president rely in this case?

[Filatov] I wish to emphasize once again that this commission is not set the task of adopting any decisions—for example, on the sections of the constitution or on its substance as a whole. It is a working organ called on to fulfill the task set by the president. The first decision—on the text of the constitution—must be adopted by the plenipotentiary representatives of the subjects of the federation. Then they will decide on the mechanism for adopting the constitution. Thus there are no contradictions with legal norms here.

As regards the legal basis for the president's constitutional activity, it consists in the following. The president obtained the support of the people in the all-Russian referendum. This presupposes his right and duty to submit a draft new constitution which takes account of the interests and desires both of individual subjects of the Federation and of the whole of Russian society. Any slowing down of this process, notably on the part of legislative organs, will mean unlawful actions with all the ensuing consequences. Nobody has the right to take away from the people the right to adopt **by universal ballot** the Fundamental Law by which the people want to live. It is to realize this end that the president is making an effort.

Rutskoy: Yeltsin Draft Prepares for 'Monarch,' 'Dictator'

LD1305180393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1711 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The draft constitution proposed by Boris Yeltsin prepares for Russia "a monarch and dictator", according to Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy who participated on Thursday [13 May] in a meeting of the centrist "Civic Union" bloc with leaders of several dozens of women's organisations.

The meeting was interpreted by "Civic Union" leaders as the beginning of elections campaign as they believe early elections of the parliament and president are inevitable.

Rutskoy, who had earlier stated he would run for presidency, told TASS, however, that the elections campaign concerns the "Civic Union", rather than him.

The vice-president announced that centrist forces would hold a conference on May 20 to increase the coalition. Vasiliy Lipitskiy, a leader of the "Civic Union" told TASS that parties of socialist orientation may join the coalition.

Rutskoy told the women that the future of Russia belongs to centrist forces and that there is no crisis in the "Civic Union" after the referendum which voted support to President Boris Yeltsin.

He said the centrist coalition will not use women "in egoistic purposes" and will not forget their problems after elections. Women will fully participate in solving political and social problems if the "Civic Union" wins elections, Rutskoy promised.

President's Working Commission Meeting Viewed

MK1405095293 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 16, 14 May 93 (signed to press 13 May) p 2

[Sergey Parkhomenko article under the "Tricks" rubric: "Fighting to the Last Stand! Autonomies' Leaders Enjoy not the Result but the Process of Constitutional Reform"]

[Text] The session of the "working commission to finalize the Russian Federation draft constitution" summoned by Boris Yeltsin to meet in the Kremlin on 11 May was quite forthrightly defined by presidential apparatus staffers themselves as a "one-time action—an intermediate stage necessary for preparing for the convocation of the constitutional conference." The formal results of the session indeed do not appear too substantial: The participants exchanged assurances of mutual respect and declared mutual readiness to take each other's interests into account in preparing a new fundamental law.

If there was something that did produce a strong impression on the observers, however, it was primarily the list of the event's participants. This impression becomes even stronger given that what is involved here—whatever qualifications might be made—is a body created by the president as a direct alternative to the republic's Constitutional Commission, and called upon to complete the takeover of leadership in the constitutional reform process. If this is so, for a considerable part of the persons included in the list of those invited, the mere consent to participate in its work must have been the subject of a conscious choice, and in most cases apparently not an easy one.

This undoubtedly applies to Nikolay Ryabov, Supreme Soviet deputy speaker. Of course, his appearance in the Kremlin on 11 May could be attributed to efforts by the parliament leadership to have a reliable monitor and informer among the "presidential plotters." And it is easy to imagine that Nikolay Timofeyevich would have given approximately that as a motive for his decision to accept the president's invitation should Ruslan Khasbulatov demand an explanation. Hard as it is to do so, however, we shall have to believe that the speaker's closest associate, who was only yesterday angrily denouncing the president's attempts to impose a "constitutional monarchy" on the country and to usurp the prerogatives of legitimate authority, has now proclaimed that he "welcomes the convocation of the constitutional conference" and that he no longer deems it possible to adopt the Constitution "according to the old scheme," and that he would only think it necessary to "give the Congress the power to consecrate the constitution adopted by the Federation's components." For the sake of fairness it needs to be noted that Nikolay Ryabov has already had occasion to give observers much reason for surprise since the moment the referendum results were reported. Suddenly he developed an amazing reticence, a propensity for conciliatory, moderate declarations and sometimes quite unexpected disappearances from the White House at the most tense moments.... What could be behind all this?

Yet the most abundant food for thought is provided by the presence at the working commission's session of some of the toughest critics of presidential policy from among the leaders of the Russian autonomies. Viktor Stepanov (Karelia), Yuriy Spiridonov (Komi), Murtaza Rakhimov (Bashkortostan), obviously stuck together, behaved in a standoffish manner, and came out with very restrained, purely wait-and-see kinds of statements. But let us remember: Usually their names are the first to be mentioned among those who, according to Sergey Shakhray, "will fight to the last stand" for the preservation of congressional powers, that is to say, for the preservation of the present dual power situation. And suddenly....

But then what is really so "sudden" about this? Rather the difference would not prove to be so great between fighting to the last stand on their feet, or sitting down at the negotiating table to the bitter end. It is clear that the most auspicious scenario for the development of consultations devoted to the procedure of the constitutional reform for them would be the continuation of these consultations ad infinitum. It is precisely in this case that they will retain the rarest opportunity to bargain with the center from a position of strength, trading on their consent to participate in each subsequent round of talks. Trading for the freedom of political maneuvering, for nullifying Moscow's control over the conduct of economic and social transformations, and at the very worst, simply for export licenses and quotas, budget subsidies and tax breaks.

Therefore it is no accident that the same persons could be observed a day later at a conference on the same constitutional problems, except that this time it was organized by Ruslan Khasbulatov. Here, too, they acted in "a balanced manner," confidently and impressively. And before the speaker had concluded his final remarks, they marched off to the Kremlin again. Where they were awaited by a president ready for further compromises.

Shakhray on Overcoming Constitutional Crisis

LD1405084093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0733 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray has described the current stage of overcoming the constitutional crisis in Russia as the "nerve race" in the struggle for enlisting the support of republics and regions integrated in the Russian Federation. Hence his strenuous working schedule for the next week, which will include visits to Ryazan, Khabarovsk, Novosibirsk and Volgograd, as well as talks with Tatarstan. This week he managed to visit the Northern Caucasus and the north-western region of the country.

Speaking before journalists from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on Thursday [13 May], Shakhray pointed out that as a result of confrontation in the top echelons, it is the republics, regions and territories integrated in the Russian Federation which now have real power. This is why he described as groundless the suggestion of Chairman of Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov that elections of heads of the executive authorities should be held in the regions where the latter have serious differences with local councils (soviets).

In the opinion of Shakhray, the stand assumed by members of the Russian Federation is ambiguous. In this situation the president's side is ready for any compromise on the constitution but one: It will never agree to the removal from the president's draft constitution of the main ideas contained in it, to turning it into an "amendment" to the draft constitution worked out by the Constitutional Commission. When the president initiated the referendum, he had some ideas in mind, and now, after winning the support of the nation, he should put them into effect. The ideas include economic reforms together with the guarantee of unity of the economic space, as well as federalism and broad local self-government.

According to Shakhray, there are three possible ways of adopting the new constitution. The first and, in his opinion, absolutely unrealistic way is that the president's draft constitution will be approved by the Congress of People's Deputies. The second one envisages its adoption by the specially convened constituent assembly. The third way of adopting the new constitution is through another referendum. Shakhray believes the second way is the most realistic one. The president may convene the constituent assembly either with the help of general elections, or, which is more probable, through ensuring the proportional representation of members of the federation, people's deputies and the main political parties.

Shakhray regards as possible a temporary way out: The giving up of the draft constitution and the adoption of the law on authority for the period of transition, which will deal only with the relationship between the branches of federal authority.

"If none of those ways out is chosen, society will have to live through a civil war in order to get some kind of authority through suffering," Shakhray said and expressed hope that nothing like that would take place. In his opinion, a situation when two different draft constitutions are approved simultaneously is hardly probable.

The constitution is not the purpose in itself. In the situation existing in Russia today it is one of the ways (along with early elections) to overcome the crisis and restore federal authority. Other ways include nothing but a civil war, coups d'etat and dictatorship, Shakhray stressed.

Constitutional Commission's Sheynis Interviewed

MK1305132093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 20, 16 May 93 (signed to press 11 May) pp A8, 9

[Interview with V.L. Sheynis, member of the Constitutional Commission, by Tatyana Skorobogatko; place and date not given: "It Is Dangerous To Exorcise a Demon With the Devil"]

[Text] Political scientists predict: Within the next few months the new constitution will be the main field of battle between the Russian branches of government. The situation has been sharply dramatized by the appearance of the "presidential draft"—in parallel with the "official" one, which has been worked on for the last two years by the Constitutional Commission comprising parliament members. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI's correspondent talks about the reasons for and the possible implications of this "parallelism" with Constitutional Commission member Viktor Sheynis.

[Skorobogatko] Viktor Leonidovich, just how unexpected have the presidential team's "constitutional initiatives" been for you?

[Sheynis] I was surprised by some of the concrete actions taken by the president. Nonetheless, one could have predicted that the course of the parliamentary majority toward the suppression of the executive branch, its aggressiveness—which has increased in recent weeks—would provoke a retaliatory reaction and that the president would try to capitalize on the political results of the referendum in the form of some unconventional moves.

[Skorobogatko] What is the possible result of these "concrete actions"? A new spiral of confrontation when the parliament prepares and adopts its own constitution, and the president his own?

[Sheynis] In its recent appeal to the president, the Constitutional Commission proposed that he set up working groups on each side, sit them down at the negotiating table, and then merge the two documents into a single one, acceptable to all. There are a mere 10 deputies and experts, predominantly of democratic orientation, in the Constitutional Commission's working group. I can also more or less anticipate the possible composition of the presidential working group. These people are quite capable of working together.

Furthermore, nearly 60 percent of the texts of the presidential draft and of the Constitutional Commission's draft coincide. This coincidence offers good opportunities for constructive work, when the versions are not opposed to each other but matched.

[Skorobogatko] Still, some believe that the 40 percent of things that do not coincide cannot be reconciled in principle. For example, the provisions relating to the division of powers between the president and the parliament.... Which draft should then be accepted as a basis for work, as a basis for changes and amendments?

[Sheynis] I would not give a definite preference to either draft. Each has its strong and weak points. To be sure, a big advantage of the presidential draft is the article forbidding the establishment of any barriers within Russia's borders that would limit the movement of goods, services, and financial resources. In the face of the threat of separatism, which in its time led to the disintegration of the Union, this outright ban is sensible and indispensable. This article clearly defines the hierarchy of state power, which our draft presents only in general outline. The article about the right of private land ownership is formulated in sharper terms.

As for the weaknesses.... They are different in the two drafts, but their cause is mostly the same: the pressure of situational considerations. For instance, the Constitutional Commission's draft does not provide for the parliament's power to dismiss the government en masse (as opposed to individual ministers)—a manifestation of mistrust in its policy.

I have more than once argued with my colleagues in the working group, trying to show them the necessity of including this provision. They would tell me in response that in those countries where the parliament does have that power, the president has a matching power: to dissolve parliament. My opponents would respond to the proposal to introduce this principle by saying: "The present parliament will not agree to that."

The president in his draft provides for the possibility of dissolving the parliament, although the wording of this article appears too vague. In principle this is correct—parliament's arbitrariness must be limited. By expressing, time after time, its mistrust in the government, in individual ministers, by rejecting the government course, it must know that there is a counterbalance. The presidential draft, however, does not make it clear to me whether it provides for the parliament's power to dismiss the government en masse. The relevant provision is not coherent enough. What sort of balance of power can one be talking about then?

[Skorobogatko] Presumably, in the present conditions it would be impossible to ignore completely considerations of political expediency....

[Sheynis] Political expediency is a dangerous counselor in constitutional matters. While seeking in its struggle against the deputy majority to rely on representatives of the Federation's components, the presidential side is making such concessions that in the future could lead to the complete disintegration of Russia. One of them is the over-exaggerated role of the Federation Council as the upper chamber of parliament. It would have control of the entire cadre policy; it would decide on questions of war and peace, ratify international treaties, declare martial law. To be sure, there must be some specialization in the chambers, but certainly not to that extent....

Over more than two years the Constitutional Commission's working group has resisted the onslaught from representatives of the former autonomous republics who demanded that the upper chamber be formed on the basis of parity, which they interpreted in a very peculiar way: Half the seats would go to the ethnic republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs, and the other half to Russian krays and oblasts, Moscow and Leningrad. The question arises: Why should 14 percent of the population have the same number of representatives in the upper chamber as 86 percent of the populace? The presidential draft yields this position at once.

I think that it is not a new constitution as such that is important for the president, rather the opportunity that it ensures for getting rid of the present deputy corps. I not only understand this intention, but also support it: I myself signed a letter containing an appeal for early parliamentary elections. In recent days, however, I have been haunted by the French saying: "It is dangerous to exorcise a demon with the devil." The concessions that the president is making and that the Constitutional Commission is making in response to his concessions, hastily adjusting its draft in the interests of forces acting on behalf of the ethnic republics, are extremely dangerous because they encourage centrifugal tendencies. A similar competition occurred between the Supreme Soviet and the president in granting easy credits to various regions in Russia. That to a very large extent fueled inflation. In this case we are observing inflation of statehood.

Furthermore, representatives of the ethnic republics demanded that the Constitutional Commission incorporate the Federation Treaty into the constitution. Not the content of the treaty, as was decided by the Sixth Congress, but its entire text. We did not do that. First, there are actually three treaties, and therefore this would be absurd from the viewpoint of the treaty's composition. Yet even worse is the impression being formed that the Russian Federation is based on a treaty. But states can enter a treaty as well as withdraw from it! We maintained a different principle: Russia is a constitutional Federation. Then we found a compromise by rewriting one of the sections of the constitution and inserting in it all the main provisions of the Federation Treaty. The result would be that the Russian Federation is a constitutional, treaty- based federation. That proved to be insufficient—and all three treaties have been incorporated into the presidential draft. In response to this the Constitutional Commission, under pressure from the parliament speaker ... has done exactly the same.

[Skorobogatkko] It appears that the drafts are not incompatible after all....

[Sheynis] Actually the main question is not about points of disagreements but about who will adopt the constitution and how. I think that so far the congress is not ready to adopt it not only in its presidential or coordinated draft, but also in the version whose basic provisions it earlier approved. Primarily because that would inevitably lead to new parliamentary elections. The president must also be aware of this. Then he may be reasoning as follows: If the Congress is the main obstacle in the way of economic and political stabilization, if it is incapable of adopting a new constitution, then the constitution must be adopted in some other way, in circumvention of the present constitution.

[Skorobogatko] And will society react calmly to the "unconstitutional" adoption of the constitution?

[Sheynis] The referendum has shown, and my meetings with constituents confirm this, that the credibility of the deputy corps is pretty low. I am far from calling for the dissolution of parliament against its will. But if this were to happen, it is very unlikely that it would result in strong public indignation. This is bad not from the point of new of the fate of the present parliament, but the point of view of principle: If the president dissolves this parliament, why should he not do so with the next one? Why should future leaders not use the powers concentrated in the hands of the executive branch to establish, let us say, a not completely parliamentary regime?

[Skorobogatko] Is this not too high a price to pay for the victory over the conservative congress? A threat to Russia's integrity, and an antidemocratic precedent....

[Sheynis] Personally I would prefer another, constitutional way. It could, however, prove to be totally blocked: I am afraid that many of my colleagues are intoxicated with the feeling of power and have lost perception of the real correlation of forces. Nonetheless, there are many hidden underwater reefs in the presidential draft as well. As far as one can understand, the president intends to present the constitution for approval to the Federation's components. In what form will this be done? And what if a substantial part of the regions do not support it? Consultations with the Federation's components will inevitably bring forward to the political arena krays and oblasts where Russian residents dominate. It is very unlikely that representatives of these oblasts, regardless of their sympathies and antipathies for the president, will quietly allow the republic elites to deal with constitutional matters. Here I anticipate some great surprises and unpleasant things, about which the president and his team may not be thinking.

Constitutional Court To Examine IZVESTIYA Dispute

LD1305144093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The dispute between the staff of the newspaper IZVESTIYA and the Russian Supreme Soviet over the right to own this publication, which was a sensation last year, will be examined by the Russian Constitutional Court on May 14.

ITAR-TASS was told by head of the Constitutional Court's press service Sergey Obukhov that the court plans to consider the suit filed by IZVESTIYA journalists and also the appeal by former people's deputy, now Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray, and People's Deputies of the Russian Federation Aleksandr Kotenkov and Igor Bezrukov to check the constitutionality of the Russian Supreme Soviet's decision "on the newspaper IZVESTIYA" of July 17, 1992.

Member of the newspaper's editorial board Eduard Gonzalez, who will represent IZVESTIYA's interests in the Constitutional Court, explained to ITAR-TASS that the newspaper's personnel believed the Russian Supreme Soviet had violated their rights by this decision, because they were founders of the publication since August 1991. The foregoing decision of the Russian Parliament declares its right to "resume" the publication of the newspaper "IZVESTIYA SOVETOV NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV ROSSII" (HERALD OF THE SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES OF RUSSIA) on the basis of an already existing newspaper—IZVESTIYA.

True, Gonzalez admitted, the decision was not implemented and, therefore, a Constitutional Court ruling on the IZVESTIYA appeal was important for the newspaper's staff "from the point of view of principle".

Poltoranin on Plan To Abolish Press, Information Ministry

LD1305164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1630 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—Mikhail Poltoranin, leader of Russia's Federal Information Centre (FIC), has confirmed a plan to abolish the Russian Ministry of the Press and Information. When the ministry was being established, it was stipulated that it would function "for not more than three years", Poltoranin told ITAR-TASS. The present structure of the ministry, in his view, no longer accords with the "realities of life and the withering away of the ministry's monopoly now that independent publishers have emerged."

According to Poltoranin, whose status is equal to that of the first vice-premier, the ministry's subdivisions that are in charge of publishing will be separated from the ministry and there will remain only "a small 30-member agency" which will carry out a state policy through a state-placed order for publication, of study manuals, for example. The functions of the legal regulation of press activities will be transferred to the Ministry of Justice. The development of the material and technical resources of mass media will be a function of the FIC.

This plan, according to Poltoranin, was worked out in presidential structures way back in June last year. Already at that time the president could implement it because he had additional congress-provided powers, the FIC leader recalled.

Boris Yeltsin had no time to implement the idea. Therefore, the abolishment should now be endorsed by the Supreme Soviet (parliament) which has the powers to reorganise executive power structures.

In Poltoranin's view, the plan can be implemented during the forthcoming session of the parliament, not at the current one.

Lisin Defends Role of Mass Media Committee

PM1305120993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 93 p 2

[Interview with Vladimir Lisin, chairman of the Mass Media Committee, by Aleksandr Shinkin; place and date not given: "Feast of the Second Oldest...: A Talk with the 'Stifler of Truth' Vladimir Lisin"]

[Text] At a recent sitting in April the Russian Supreme Soviet examined the question of reorganizing the Committee on the Mass Media, Links with Social Organizations and Citizens' Mass Movements, and the Study of Public Opinion. Parliamentarians rated its work a failure and decided to split the cumbersome committee's functions. The result was the creation of the Committee for the Mass Media, which will handle all the problems in this sphere. The remaining functions have been transferred to a committee which has been given the title the Committee for Freedom of Conscience and Links with Social, Religious, and Charitable Organizations.

This essentially mundane event in the life of the Supreme Soviet has been turned into a sensation and all manner of derogatory labels have been attached to it. I asked Vladimir Lisin, chairman of the Committee for the Mass Media, about the reasons for this reaction.

[Shinkin] Vladimir Pavlovich, if the views of the independent press and television are to be believed, you are right behind Khasbulatov as a stifler of freedom, to put it mildly. Has the journalist in you really died?

[Lisin] Using labels is by no means the best way to elicit the truth. Well, good luck to them, they do not know what they are talking about. That is not the problem. Those people who shout loudest today about freedom of speech are in fact concerned most for their own interests; the interests of others are the last thing on their mind. Many so-called independent publications want to be "free" from the interests of society and state, not to mention national and moral values.

That is well understood by those in power who are impudently using the system of subsidies, licenses, and other benefits to further strengthen their monopoly position and reinforce the dependence of the mass media on one political force and one structure of political system. Tell me, how much has your newspaper received in the past in subsidies from the Ministry of the Press? I will tell you—21 million. Whereas IZVESTIYA has received around 1 billion!

[Shinkin] But this system of buying off journalists is as old as the world. Why is the Supreme Soviet trying to reorganize your committee?

[Lisin] Broadly speaking, so that freedom of the mass media means freedom for the sake of democracy, its institutions and values, and for the statehood of Russia and its national interests.

[Shinkin] Was it really necessary to form a new committee for that?

[Lisin] Undoubtedly. In three years the committee members had prepared just one law. The seven draft laws and two draft decrees which were scheduled for last year remained just fond hopes. Nevertheless they found time to spend more than half the resources they were given for these purposes.

Such a low level of productivity can be put down to two factors. First, the fact that among the committee members there are a lot of notorious political leaders, people like former political functionary Sergey Yushenkov, for example; Lev Ponomarev, a fierce adversary of the CPSU; and others. And the fact that almost one-third of the committee's members are permanently employed in the presidential or government structures. What does that have to do with law-making? But it has plenty to do with demonstrating their political views. As a result at the committee's sessions virtually all initiatives in the sphere of developing a legal base regulating the activity of the mass media were rejected. It was done without adequate legal justification but instead with "political fuss." Consequently the committee threw out any reasonable decision that did not correspond to the interests of the president and his entourage.

When selecting the new team, we shall try to ensure that the committee members represent most fully the various political forces both in parliament and in society. And I hope that we will focus our efforts on legislative support for constitutional law on the freedom of the mass media, while at the same time not forgetting Russia's national and state interests. Nor will we overlook the necessary regulations governing the professional activity of journalists—such regulations exist even in the world's freest states—or measures against monopolies in the sphere of information and on monitoring the observance of the Law on the Mass Media.

[Shinkin] Nevertheless, they intend to protect "freedom of speech" against you.

[Lisin] Protecting their own total license would be more accurate. And additionally protecting their own monopoly, which enables minority opinion to be used to suppress that of the majority. The distortions of current propaganda have long outshone the best efforts of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department in this sphere.

'Free Russia' Youth Movement on Current Issues

PM1305131593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Yelena Musatova report under "In Parties and Movements" rubric: "Reelection for All"]

[Text] The board of the "Free Russia" youth movement has circulated a statement.

Assessing the referendum results, the statement's authors believe that "Russians did not support any 'revolutionary transformations'; they left everything in its place and put their trust not in any one branch of power but in continuation of reforms within the constitutional framework." However, the events of 1 May in Moscow demonstrated that the country's leadership is continuing to ignore the opinion of Russians and that the Constitution and laws are being violated. The authors believe that "B. Yeltsin and the people's deputies are obliged from the moral viewpoint to agree to early elections."

Their next statement described the campaign against A. Rutskoy as "cynical and unbridled persecution." Members of the youth association are viewing it as a "well-planned act" and associating it with the vice president's work as leader of the anti-corruption commission, which could have led to an expose of the "reforming activity" of presidential circles.

Their third statement is devoted to the mass media, which, it says, is being subjected to tough pressure tactics from presidential forces. It expresses "categorical disagreement with the activity of the Ministry of the Mass Media and the Federal Information Bureau." In the opinion of the youth movement, it is necessary to speed up the adoption of the Law "On State Television and Radio" which will ensure equal access to state mass media for the various political forces.

Prosecutor's Office Petitions Supreme Soviet

PM1305140393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May 93 First Edition p 2

[ITAR-TASS report: "Prosecutor's Office Demand"]

[Text] The Russian General Prosecutor's Office has petitioned the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to give its consent to the institution of proceedings against People's Deputy Gennadiy Sayenko, one of the organizers of the May 1 rally that ended in mass unrest.

Aleksandr Zvyagintsev, head of the General Prosecutor's Office News and Public Relations Center, told a CRIME-PRESS correspondent that indications of administratively punishable violations of the law had been revealed in the actions of National Salvation Front Cochairman Sayenko. In particular, the rally organizers had attempted to deviate from the route prescribed by City Hall, and other blatant violations of established regulations had been committed.

According to provisional information, the Prosecutor's Office petition against Sayenko may be examined immediately after the Supreme Soviet resumes work following the recess for the holidays.

Commentary Views Implications of Skokov's Ouster

MK1305101093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 20, 16 May 93 (signed to press 11 May) pp A8, 9

[Vladimir Orlov commentary in "Background" column: "Yuriy Skokov's Final Bow. How the Battle Behind the Scenes Between the Security Council and the Foreign Affairs Ministry Has Ended"]

[Text] A week before his forced departure, Yuriy Skokov suddenly appeared enthusiastic before Security Council apparatus staffers and told them about his conversation with the president and its main outcome: Yeltsin endorsed the concept of Russian foreign policy. Skokov at that time assessed the presidential endorsement as his major victory in the Kremlin lobby games.

Indeed, the Security Council secretary devoted the entire last month almost exclusively to editing a document whose full title is "The Basic Provisions of the Concept of Russian Federation Foreign Policy." As a result, a bulky thesis was born carrying a "Not for Publication" stamp, prepared by an anonymous group of authors: "expert groups" from the Defense Ministry, the Foreign Intelligence Service, the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as officials from the Department for Strategic Security and other structures of the Security Council itself. This is the first (and so far the sole) tangible product of the Security Council's interdepartmental foreign policy commission headed by Skokov.

The concept is devoid of extremes and can, with certain qualifications, equally accommodate the radical democrats and the national patriots, the eggheaded political scientists and Foreign Affairs Ministry officials. One of the few differences between the Security Council's draft and the Foreign Ministry's version consists in an abundance of highfalutin phrases about "the grandeur of Russia in terms of its potential, in terms of its influence on the course of events in the world, and in terms of its responsibility."

The most polished section of the concept is devoted to high priority aims and vital interests. These include: protection of Russian statehood and territorial integrity (implicit in this, among other things, is an answer to relations with Japan), guarantees of the "stability and irreversibility" of the reforms, and protection of the interests of Russian citizens abroad.

Anything that contradicts Russian interests is a threat to Russia's national security. According to the concept, one of the main threats arose as a consequence of the disintegration of the USSR, with the emergence of seats of instability across the entire perimeter of Russia's borders. Hence: Foreign policy should begin with the countries that are immediate neighbors. With regard to the former Union republics it is necessary to reach "the highest possible degree of integration in all spheres." In the event, however, that some CIS members "are not ready" to walk in step with Russia, they should be discarded, and work should continue only with those that "are ripe."

One of the few emotionally colored paragraphs in the document is devoted to Ukraine, to its aspiration to remain a nuclear (or "quasi-nuclear") power and to benefit as much as possible from its advantageous military-strategic position. "It would be utter thoughtlessness and irresponsibility to tolerate the fact that questions of administration and control of the strategic forces of the former USSR have not been regulated yet and that the integrity of the defense system has been eroded." Russia intends in the future to continue to insist on the preservation of military bases, the infrastructure, and other installations on the entire territory of the former USSR, "ensuring Russia's status as the sole nuclear power within the CIS."

Relations with the Baltic states will to a greater extent than before depend on the situation of the Russian-speaking population in each of these republics. Russia's possible maneuvers in Central Asia have not been sufficiently worked out. According to some indications, the Security Council's approach to this region is close to the position of authoritative scholars from the nongovernmental Union of Foreign and Defense Policy. It consists in the idea that the threat of Islamic fundamentalism from the south is extremely exaggerated, and the challenges to Russian interests from central and southwestern Europe "continue to remain dissipated and therefore do not pose a direct threat to security," while flexible instruments of force are needed for military-political containment. In addition, it is recommended to give primary attention to the localization of the conflict in Afghanistan, "to enhance our role in settling the problems around Iraq," and also to consolidate the foothold in the Middle East market of weapons and raw materials.

According to Russian strategists, in Europe, extreme caution should be exercised with regard to any integration process which does not include Russia since this "could cause serious damage to our vital interests." In the Yugoslav crisis, any outside armed intervention without UN Security Council authority is ruled out, while responsibility for fomenting the conflict is being laid "on all the parties directly involved in it."

A whole section is devoted to relations with the United States. On the one hand, much is said about partner-type relations, primarily in the sphere of control over the proliferation of nuclear weapons. On the other hand, "the lingering suspiciousness of the United States and its intention to assert its status as the sole superpower" lead to serious disagreements in the policies pursued by the two countries. The Americans are being reproached for their discriminatory policy in the sphere of high technology and for squeezing Russia from the world's arms markets. Significantly, these accusations are repeated in the text at least four times. The authors of the concept are convinced that the openness of the Russian economy cannot be accompanied by a "degradation of Russia's technological and industrial potential." This is quite a common position, but diametrically opposed to the Foreign Ministry's. Kozyrev once noted, not without sarcasm: "It is not easy to trade with economically advanced countries, to get through to the highly competitive markets where they have entrenched themselves. Therefore the temptation arises to accuse them of being not ready to meet us halfway."

It would be too much to say that the concept has reversed Russia's foreign policy or at least rechanneled it. Rather, its aim is domestic. The struggle between the Security Council's Foreign Policy Commission and the Foreign Ministry over authorship has become a struggle for real and effective influence on the shaping of foreign policy in the near future. Skokov's clout, as well as the support from Grachev, Barannikov, and Primakov, have helped him push Kozyrev aside and win Yeltsin's prolonged favor. He has even succeeded in inserting the following phrase: "Foreign political work shall be directed by the president, relying on the Security Council." The role of the Foreign Affairs Ministry is confined to purely executive functions.

On 6 May, however, everything was reversed overnight. Yeltsin finally decided to fulfill his long-standing promise to the radical democrats. He summoned the Security Council secretary and reminded him of his disloyalty in March and April, doing so in very sharp terms. Skokov tendered his resignation. Yeltsin said that he would sign it "after Victory Day," and so he did.

On the same day the Security Council apparatus, selected to fit Skokov, froze. The list of the Security Council's permanent members now looks strange: Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, Rutskoy, and Voronin....

Skokov's resignation and possible changes in the Security Council's composition, it would seem, substantially raise Kozyrev's chances. To be sure, he will try to convince the president of the need to "rework" the adopted document or to just quietly "forget" it. This, however, will be no easy task. It is no accident that Yeltsin, having already determined Skokov's fate, enacted the concept after all. The number of its influential supporters is certainly not limited to Skokov alone.

Economic Issues

Council Presidium Discusses Economic Restructuring

LD1305145593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1352 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—"The Presidium of the Russian Council of Ministers has split into two camps—'industrialists' and 'marketeers', while discussing today a federal draft programme of restructuring of the economy for the period until 1995," Ivan Materov, Russian deputy economics minister, told a news conference. It was announced that the draft programme, submitted by Materov to the session of the Presidium of the Russian Government, was returned for amendment.

According to the deputy economics minister, "industrialists" insisted on the fact that the draft programme did not fully take into account the needs of industrial enterprises, while "marketeers" voiced doubt about the expediency of additional expenditures which will be imposed on the state budget as the programme is being implemented.

Asked by ITAR-TASS about the position taken on this issue by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, the deputy economics minister said that Chernomyrdin had acknowledged the necessity of this programme, but raised the question if it was possible to carry out this programme by non-inflationary means taking into account realistic possibilities of the budget.

Materov believes that the federal programme of restructuring the economy is necessary so as on the turn of the centuries Russia would not turn into a country of half-handicraft workshops.

"Under conditions of soaring inflation rates, macroeconomic methods calculated to meet restricted demand do not work. The collapsing economy should not rely on self-regulation, it needs selective state support by viable enterprises until market mechanisms begin to work," Materov said.

Draft Reform Program Viewed

LD1305204793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1200 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 13 May—Russia's Deputy Economics Minister Ivan Materov today submitted a draft version of a federal program to restructure the economy by 1995 to the Russian Federation Government Presidium, describing its aim as "to make the way that the state influences the economy more ordered and focused." One cannot let the country's economy "look after itself," he said. Rapid structural change without state regulation could lead to grave social consequences, including a sharp rise in unemployment.

The main goals of reforms planned for the 1993-1995 period are defined as "halting the decline of the economy's life support systems and restoring them to stability; halting any further fall in living standards, ensuring social welfare, and offering incentives to the economically-active; active reform of institutions and creation in Russia of an integrated economic market while ensuring that the requisite degree of control over the economy is maintained; ensuring economic invulnerability and environmental security; retaining scientific, technological, industrial, and human resources for post-crisis development, especially in zones with major growth potential."

The program is based on a scenario for economic expansion which "assumes that a moderate to tough anti-inflation finance and credit policy will be pursued throughout, with selective support for industry and implementation of structural reform priorities." Also, "slower growth in wholesale prices in industry and other sectors" is assumed. According to Economics Ministry forecasts, in 1993 prices will rise by an average of 6-fold on 1992, in 1994 by 2.6 times on 1993, and in 1995 by 1.5 times. Social policy will contain measures "to restrain unemployment to an economically and socially acceptable level." Gross domestic product is anticipated to shrink by three percent in 1993 compared to the previous year, and in 1994 and 1995 to grow by one and a half and four percent respectively.

The program defines the two priority areas of structural reform: fuel and power engineering and food. "Issues worth particular attention" are named as defense industry conversion, transport, communications, information technology, housing construction, and support for science. The draft is based on nearly 200 industrial and regional programs for structural economic reform.

Discussion of the draft federal program for structural economic reform led to some sharp exchanges at the government presidium. Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov stressed that there was "insufficient thought" on social policy in the document and that it lacked any provision for guaranteeing social welfare. Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin's opinion was that the document dealt inadequately with the relationship between state and monetary regulation in the economy and with financial and credit regulation. He called for "a very cautious attitude towards programs that promise financing from the state budget" and for "the natural and sound restructuring processes within the economy on no account to be wrecked by monetary methods."

Science and Technology Minister Boris Saltykov called the program "a roundup of spending requests and an imbalanced state plan lacking any method of control." Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays described the federal plan as "unrealistic" saying that it would "be worth" about 15 trillion rubles to the budget, while all outgoings in the current budget add up to 22 trillion. His opinion was that in addition to partial state financing of the economy there must be active measures to enlist private capital as well, to create an appropriate climate for this and, above all, to suppress inflation so that investment is worthwhile. Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, summing up more than three hours of debate, was largely well-disposed towards the economics ministry's document. He pointed out that one inadequacy was the lack of any source of finance for industrial and regional programmes. This first discussion of the draft, he said, would provide a stimulus for more work on it: "This has been a good conversation and some serious reflection is needed."

It was impossible to stabilize the Russian economy "without a stringent credit and finance policy and without beating inflation," Viktor Chernomyrdin noted. The reforms had to proceed with an emphasis on social issues. "We should only move forwards. We must apply realistic measures and careful consideration to accelerating and extending the reforms. We will not retreat one step from the policy of economic reform," he said.

Ministry Releases Gross Domestic Product Forecast

LD1305121593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1157 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—Although the gross domestic product will decrease in 1993 by three per cent compared to the previous year, it will grow by 1.5 and four per cent in 1994 and 1995 correspondingly, according to a programme of economic reform for 1993-95 worked out by the Economics Ministry and discussed by the government on Thursday [13 May].

"Moderately tough anti-inflation monetary policy will be preserved during the period together with selective support of enterprises and restructuring of economy", Deputy Economics Minister Ivan Materov told the government.

He added that the growth of prices will begin to slow down in 1994. Prices will increase six-fold on average in 1993 compared to 1992, in 1994 the growth will amount to 2.6 times compared to 1993, the corresponding figure for 1995 is planned to be 1.5 times.

Major directions of reform during the three years will be the curbing of industrial slump and stabilisation of vitally important branches of economy. Special attention will be devoted to fuel and energy complex.

The deputy minister said energy saving measures are to be introduced. "We have to repeat the exploit of the West made during the oil shock in early 70s", Materov said.

The programme was criticised by radical marketeers in the government. Deputy Premier Aleksandr Shokhin said it is necessary to determine the correlation between state and market methods of managing economy. He called "to avoid destroying natural and healthy processes of restructuring economy which are going on thanks to monetarist methods".

Another deputy premier, Anatoliy Chubays said the government should concentrate on curbing inflation in order to boost private investments into economy. He criticised the proposed programme saying it is too expensive and will cost the budget 15 trillion roubles while the total receipts of the current budget are estimated at 22 trillion roubles.

Minister of Science and Technical Policy Boris Saltykov said the document of the Economics Ministry is not "a programme, but an unbalanced state plan devoid of management levers".

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin positively assessed the programme in general and said the discussion was "a good talk which needs serious consideration". He reiterated that economic stabilisation is impossible without a tough monetary policy and overcoming inflation. "We have to go forward, reforms are to be accelerated and strengthened by concrete actions and sober-minded calculations. We shall not sidetrack from the policy of economic reform", Chernomyrdin said.

Personnel Changes in Economy Ministry Pondered

PM1305141193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 13 May 93 p 1

[Nikolay Gorlov report: "Two Vice Ministers for the Price of One"]

[Text] The departure of Georgiy Khizha, renowned as a consistent supporter of state regulation of the economy, from the post of vice premier has been "compensated for" by the appearance of two new deputies in the leadership of Oleg Lobov's Ministry of the Economy—First Deputy Minister Aleksandr Troshin and Deputy Minister Leonid Zapalskiy. They both have wide experience of state planning work and belong to the "statist" camp. Troshin used to be chairman of the USSR Ministry of the Economy Liquidation Committee and his signature appears at the bottom of the last documents that emerged from the depths of this department. He has now been entrusted with regional policy issues.

Leonid Zapalskiy is a former first deputy chairman of the USSR and then RSFSR State Planning Committee—he has remained faithful to his "metier"—as before, he is still dealing with investment policy.

The political comings and goings in the highest economic echelons are providing plenty of food for thought regarding assumptions about the future course of the reforms. Within the Ministry of the Economy itself the new appointments have been welcomed—the professionalism of the new vice ministers is not open to doubt. They completely subscribe to the blueprint for managing the economy which was formulated under [former minister] A. Nechayev and has basically become state economic policy since the advent of Oleg Lobov. Its essence lies in the fact that the ministry should concentrate in its hands all the levers for managing the economy. The issue, needless to say, is not about reviving the old State Planning Committee—the new leadership structure, although built in place of the old one and with the participation of old specialists, is following a completely new plan in new conditions.

Nevertheless, the danger that the Ministry of the Economy will return to "tested" management methods remains topical. It is to be neutralized by legal and organizational methods. This is how the appointment to the post of deputy economy minister of former Sakhalin Governor Valentin Fedorov—a leading light among the "marketeers"—should be viewed.

Anti-Inflation Policy Seen Existing in Words Only

MK1305121493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 20, 16 May 93 (signed to press 11 May) p B1

[Rustam Narzikulov commentary: "Inflation of Assurances Vs. Monetary Inflation. Oath of Allegiance to Anti-Inflation Views Becomes Obligatory for High-Placed Officials"]

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin (on 29 April at an expanded session of the Council of Ministers), Vladimir Shumeyko (on 5 May at a meeting with the press), and finally Boris Yeltsin (on 6 May in a televised speech) one after another proclaimed the struggle against inflation the government's number one task. If the words and deeds of high-placed officials were to match each other, in the near term the emission activity of the Central Bank would be limited, while the market makers might get a good opportunity to operate in a normal price environment.

The full texts of the speeches by the prime minister, the vice premier, and the president leave the impression, however, that the promise to resist price rises is no more than a standing party slogan, whose pronouncement testifies to the orator's loyalty with respect to the "reform course." There is no other explanation of the fact that following an appeal to stop price rises, state leaders immediately put forward a whole complex of pro-inflationary measures.

Viktor Chernomyrdin, after his theoretically correct words about the need to "hold down the money supply growth" and to adopt an "austere federal budget spending" program, moved over to the thesis about "consolidating the financial position of enterprises," which lends itself to wide interpretation. It is known that the simplest way of "strengthening the financial position of the enterprises" would be to provide them with a budgetary (that is, inflationary) diet. The prime minister actually implied this, suggesting that all state enterprises be divided into two categories—enterprises "under direct state administration, and enterprises operating on a full commercial basis." Importantly, category 1 enterprises would be strictly overseen by the state, which "would render them limited financial support."

Boris Yeltsin, although he stated on 6 May that "the main task in the economy is fighting inflation," gave rise to doubts as to the feasibility of his own directive by proclaiming, in the same breath, a course toward formation in Russia of "a socially oriented market system." If by adding the word "socially" the president sought to justify the pre-referendum massive blow to budget expenditures, then this would mean that he does not fully refuse to carry out his April promises. If, on the other hand, Yeltsin reserves for himself the possibility of socially adjusting the market reform, then he thus takes on the doctrine of Ruslan Khasbulatov, who is a zealous supporter of the Scandinavian model. In either case inflation in Russia is guaranteed regardless of the sincerity of the president's wish to overcome this economic evil.

The lack of a clear-cut position with regard to inflation is even more pronounced in statements by Vladimir Shumeyko, who has a remarkable professional facility for simultaneously making diametrically opposite judgments. This time around, too, Shumeyko, just like his senior comrades, after talking some about inflation, expressed a supposition that "in June-July price rises should stop." The first vice premier very easily took care of the problem of Yeltsin's pre-referendum promises, saying that "all of these edicts were carefully calculated and therefore will not push the state budget outside the planned framework."

Having finished with the mandatory things, Shumeyko moved on to what was more habitual for him: cadre reshuffles. The appointment of two new first vice premiers—Oleg Lobov and Oleg Soskovets—in his opinion, testifies to the state's increased regulatory role, while the concentration in their hands of virtually all controls over general economic and sectoral policy is related "to the stabilization of the economy." In Lobov's and Soskovets' framework, inflation is perceived as an outlandish folly and therefore Shumeyko chose to forget about it in this part of his speech.

If top-ranking state officials continue to mention their commitment to monetarism so often, then against the backdrop of endless price rises the idea of a tough emission policy will finally be discredited in the eyes of the populace.

Jan-Apr Industrial Output Said Down 19% From 1992

LD1405061293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] According to the State Committee for Statistics, industrial output in the Russian Federation in the period from January to April 1993 dropped by 19 percent compared with the same period a year ago. Consumer prices have grown by 220-230 percent compared with last December. In the first four months of the current year, the population has bought only two-thirds of the amount of goods purchased in the same period in 1992. The State Committee for Statistics reports that Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy is the most expensive Russian city to live in, and Ulyanovsk is the cheapest.

Lobov Brings Former Gosplan Men Into Economy Ministry

MK1305120093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 13 May 93 p 9

[Aleksandr Sergeyev report: "New Appointments in Economy Ministry. Oleg Lobov Forms His Team"]

[Text] **Yesterday's official announcement of the appointment of Aleksandr Troshin as first deputy minister of the economy, and of Valentin Fedorov and Leonid Zapalskiy as deputy ministers, in fact means that Oleg Lobov, head of the Ministry of the Economy, has completed forming the core of the team that will be taking part in the elaboration of key priorities for Russia's economic development.**

Oleg Lobov sees one of his objectives as minister of the economy in lending the ministry some of the broad powers formerly wielded by Gosplan alone. The inclusion of former Gosplan men in the structure of the Ministry of the Economy, however, was perhaps occasioned, among other things, by accusations targeted at the government by industrial quarters of "chaotic management" of all economic sectors, and, as a consequence, of the inability to stop the slump in production.

Chances are that Lobov will manage to stem the outflow from the ministry of skilled personnel who had been through the "school" of the Union Gosplan. Considering the Gaydar government a "team of upstarts," they preferred work for private and semi-government businesses over ministerial posts. Today, the chiefs of the Ministry of the Economy have a chance to attract some of these specialists back to the ministry. A number of former high-ranking staffers of the ministry, in private discussions with your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent, voiced a "certain" readiness to rejoin civil service. If that is the case, Oleg Lobov's deputies would have a chance to form their staffs from among specialists who are already a smoothly operating team. In the future they may serve as a pool of new heads for the ministerial structures. That this is likely can be seen in the new statute of the Economy Ministry that is being currently drafted there. The statute lends it broader powers as being the country's leading economic administration. According to KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts, Oleg Lobov is one of a few new ministers who have managed to conduct, in the shortest time possible, reshuffles and appointments to key positions of the necessary people. At the moment three out of five of Lobov's deputies (Aleksandr Troshin, Ivan Materov, and Andrey Shapovolyants) worked for USSR Gosplan, and Leonid Zapalskiy was deputy to Yevgeniy Saburov, former minister of the economy in Russia's first democratic government.

In the near future, the ministry will probably focus on introducing the "selective policy" developed by its experts. The policy's main objective is state support for the most promising production lines. As for making use of the former Gosplan staffers' experience, this does not mean going back to old management methods—but it is most likely only an attempt to combine in the Russian economy the basics of former planning methods with market conditions.

Privatization Under Way in Fuel, Power Sector

LD1305114693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 13 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Initially it was not envisaged that enterprises in the fuel and power sector would be put up for share flotation. However, as a result of joint work by the State Property Committee and the Ministry of Fuel and Power, privatization is under way in this sector after all. Yet the pace is clearly not in line with the demands of the times. This was said today at a meeting of chairmen of the territorial committees running state assets.

A report was delivered by Yuriy Shafranik, the minister for fuel and power. In his view, the most important thing in the privatization of this sector is to set up a powerful joint-stock company and also the market conditions that are essential for the existence of all, not just the big, companies. The minister believes that privatization of the sector will stimulate an increase in output. The ministry therefore intends to give as many powers as possible to the localities relating to running things and is promising to consider urgently all complex or nonstandard instances of privatization of fuel and power sector facilities.

Yeltsin Decree Extends Federal Workers' Leave

LD1205143393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree on extending annual holidays of workers of the central bodies of the federal executive power. This was carried out, as the document says, in order to compensate for additional workload, the demands of work, and the responsibility involved.

Government Seen Lacking Economic Policy

MK1305133693 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 20, 16 May 93 (signed to press 11 May 93) p A13

[Vladimir Gurevich commentary under the "Economy" rubric: "The Monarch's Eye"]

[Excerpts] The weaker the state, the stronger is its desire to restore its Cyclopean leverage by subjecting the economy to strict supervision. By cherishing this illusion the state risks losing even the modest possibilities it still has. [passage omitted]

The routine cabinet reshuffles (that are rumored to affect even the prime minister) have been caused by implicit contradictions between Yeltsin and Chernomyrdin. Either the increasingly influential prime minister does not suit the president, or Yeltsin is disenchanted with his economic policies. Either explanation is possible. [passage omitted]

The situation of the incumbent prime minister, however, is much more complex. In political conflicts he has sided with the president. Now he hears on the BBC that the president would like to see Shumeyko in his place and is calling back Gaydar. Should he turn over his duties immediately, or should he wait a bit longer? Who needs a prime minister who does not know what may happen to him next week?... Meanwhile, the Yeltsin-Chernomyrdin alliance that emerged by pure chance appears by no means unnatural. A closer look reveals that Yeltsin needs Chernomyrdin and badly so. For the president is searching for a balanced relationship with state-owned industry, within the government itself, and with public opinion. And what if he does not need him, what if he is not searching? Then he feels capable of stating (and matching his words with deeds): Enough is enough, I will drastically reshuffle the cabinet, replace the prime minister, substitute a clear-cut course for the current stopgap economic policies, put an end to inflationary compromise solutions and pledges. There are no serious indications to demonstrate this. On the contrary, the president is making a case for "a 'socially oriented market economy." Shumeyko, one of the key cabinet members, announces that the government has so far been reluctant to give the go-ahead to a large-scale process of enterprise bankruptcies for social reasons. If there is no willingness on his part to undertake this, then it is absolutely incomprehensible why he should put the incumbent prime minister in such a position of weightlessness.

The situation would have been more transparent had it transpired that the man catapulted by Gazprom into the prime minister's seat had only affected sympathy and pretended to be sensitive to macroeconomic laws, but later, as his clout increased, had unmasked himself and shown his true face. This scenario is a possibility that cannot be ruled out. But a different theory is much more likely: The cabinet does not appear to be a single "whole," it is splitting up into cliques according to personal preferences and sliding back to the idea of an increasingly interventionist policy of state regulation, whereas the prime minister is signing more and more dubious resolutions and requests for benefits. Whether he is doing this with a light heart or not makes no difference. But the situation looks familiar. His predecessor, too, encountered something like this last summer. In the autumn, the "adjustment" of reform was already in full swing. It continues this spring. [passage omitted]

The wisdom whereby if the economy is to be lifted out of the morass the state has to identify those it plans to support (and, by definition, those it does not) is by no means alien to Chernomyrdin. Gaydar in his time found it impossible to devise this policy however it might be called—an "industrial," "structural," or "selective" one—although, to tell the truth, he did not really try to. His successor cannot achieve this, either. One may argue about what is more dangerous for the government: to free prices or to leave entire industries and enterprises at the mercy of market fluctuations. The latter is undoubtedly a more difficult job: It takes just one decision to liberalize prices, but in order to carry out restructuring a continuous decisionmaking process is required.

The lack of these policies is turning into a destabilizing factor. The newly published resolution on "selective policies" has plainly shown that they are simply nonexistent.

Apart from stating that "most manufacturers of goods will have to overcome the crisis on their own," the resolution lists a number of priorities: the fuel and energy sector, the agro-industrial sector, the military-industrial sector, the social sector, and science. No one is forgotten and nothing is forgotten except for the crux of the matter: What is it that we are going to select? Unintelligible provisions about "direct state regulation," "regulation of certain financial flows in which the state is interested," and "large-scale utilization of financial and monetary regulation methods" leave no doubts as to the outcome of this selection effort. If the state does not dare to opt for a "natural," market-based selection on the one hand, but is unable to make its own choice on the other, the budget blanket is bound to be torn into pieces. Afterward, the state is seized with a fit of across-the-board regulation and the selection ends in a universal telephone conference. [passage omitted]

Now about finance, the true priority sector for state regulation. The authorities, however, have so far been interested only in raising taxes. Meanwhile Boris Fedorov has acknowledged that no one has a true understanding of the real scale and trajectories of cash flows. Fighting the budget deficit makes no sense when a comparable part of centrally allocated government money is channeled "under the counter" via "extra-budget funds." At the same time it is now improper even to speak about restoring the payments and settlement system broken by the Central Bank itself, in which enterprises are now losing trillions of rubles. [passage omitted]

Military & Space Issues

State Border To Be Fortified By End of Century

LD1305223993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 13 May 93

[Report by correspondent Ashot Nasibov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The new law on the Russian state border, which came into force at the beginning of May, conferred the status of state borders on what were previously administrative boundaries. By about the year 2000, watchtowers and barriers will appear where our country adjoins the previously fraternal Union republics. Proper defensive installations will be erected in two years' time between Russia and the new independent states that are not part of the CIS. Over 24.5 billion rubles [R] are being additionally allocated to this.

[Tymko] One thing that can be said, answering briefly, is that it is very expensive. But the fact that the borders are open costs us even more.

[Nasibov] At today's news conference in Moscow, it was said that over 13,500 km of Russia's new state border will have to be refurbished. I managed to find out that, last year, R1 million had to be paid for clearing just one km of the border, without setting up observation and notification systems. It may be supposed that it is now a whole order of magnitude higher. A year ago, the construction of a border post alone cost R15 million. Today the cost is R200 million. The shortage of money, the root cause, has even reached the people in khaki. Owing to the lack of dye, that uniform may soon become olive-coloured. Today, in order to economize, border guard officers are being denied calf-leather boots, while ordinary guards have no undershirts.

Plans Begun To Phase Out Obsolete Missiles

LD1305195593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1923 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—Four regiments of strategic missile forces will discontinue their operational vigil from May 14. Forty intercontinental ballistic missiles will be removed from operational status, although the Russian parliament has not considered and has not ratified the START-2 treaty.

The removal of 40 missiles from operational status has no bearing on the START-2 treaty and there can be no question of any one-sided disarmament, Colonel General Igor Sergeyev, commander-in-chief of the Russian Strategic Missile Forces, told IZVESTIYA's military news analyst.

"This is a routine measure. The missiles which we remove from operational duty belong to the second generation of national ICBMs which have already exceeded the combat service length, the general said.

A further increase in the number of such missiles is inadmissible due to both a sharp increase in operational costs and safety considerations. By 1995, according to Sergeyev, approximately 60 per cent of all missile systems will become obsolete.

Notwithstanding that, the combat readiness of strategic missiles forces will not decline in any way. The obsolete systems will be replaced by up-to-date ones, General Sergeyev said.

When asked whether a delay in the ratification of the START-2 treaty in the parliament affects the combat state of missile forces, the general said: "We are in a state of high combat readiness and will maintain it subsequently as well".

At the same time Sergeyev said: "We now effect natural, routine cutbacks. But if the treaty ratification process is dragged out, cutbacks can eventually create advantages for one of the parties to the treaty and result in an upsetting of balance in strategic forces in favour of the U.S."

This would seriously damage the disarmament process and the building of international confidence, the general maintains.

'Most Secret' Su-24 Bomber Aircraft Profiled

PM1305140393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0905 GMT 10 May 93

[From the "Aerospace Salon" program: Report by Aleksandr Galkin]

[Text] [Galkin] Few people are familiar with the Su-24 frontal-strike aircraft [NATO codename "Fencer"] even today, after it has been in the arsenal for 24 years.

Perhaps this is because, together with the MiG-25, it was considered to be the most secret machine in the Soviet Armed Forces.

The Su-24 is a supersonic attack aircraft, designed for delivering high-precision missile and bomb strikes. One of this aircraft's most remarkable features are its wings—variable-geometry wings. During the execution of maneuvers, the pilot can effect maximum wing-sweep and reach speeds of 2,000 km/h.

With the introduction of the Su-24 a new concept, the aircraft weapon system concept, was born. Thanks to the onboard computer the aircraft is capable of proceeding toward the target on autopilot. A unique guided weapon with a laser and television guidance system was developed for the Su-24. Yet the "icing on the cake" as regards the Su-24 attack aircraft is its ability to penetrate enemy air defenses at ultra-low level, approximately 50 meters, flying nap-of-the-earth at supersonic speed. In these circumstances the Su-24 is virtually undetectable by enemy ground radar stations. To extend its range, the Su-24 has a refueling capability. Previously frontal-attack bombers did not have this capability. Incidentally, the Su-24 cannot only take on fuel, it can also act as a tanker.

It is possible to claim without exaggeration that the Pavel Sukhoy Experimental and Design Bureau occupies the leading position today in developing aircraft for the Air Force. The Su-24, Su-25, and Su-27 are deservedly described as the frontal triad. The Su-25 storms forward defense positions and the Su-24 frontal bombers attack the communications zone [blizhayshiye tyly]. Meanwhile the ultra-maneuverable, high-speed Su-27's protect them reliably from enemy aircraft.

Official Says Most Defense Enterprises To Be Privatized

LD1305203593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the Committee for Defense Sectors of Industry in Russia, said in an INTERFAX interview today that the majority of the military-industrial complex enterprises would become joint stock companies by 1995. He stressed that without privatizing a significant share of Russia's military-industrial complex, the defense industry would not be able to enter the market economy. At the same time those enterprises whose operation directly affects Russia's combat readiness will be retained in state ownership. These account for 5-10 percent of the overall number of Russia's military-industrial complex works, Viktor Glukhikh noted.

Further on Six Cosmos Satellites Launched 11 May

PM1205181193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 May 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Six Satellites Launched"]

[Text] A launch of artificial earth satellites—Cosmos-2245, Cosmos-2246, Cosmos-2247, Cosmos-2248, Cosmos-2249, and Cosmos-2250—was carried out from Plesetsk Cosmodrome 11 May 1993. All the satellites were put into orbit by a single Tsiklon carrier rocket.

The satellites contain scientific apparatus designed to continue space research.

All six satellites are following orbits close to the planned orbits.

The apparatus with which the satellites are equipped is working normally.

The computer coordination center is processing the incoming information.

Supreme Soviet

Commission on Economic Reform Established

LD1305144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1351 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—A permanent parliamentary commission on economic reform was set up at a session of the Chamber of the Republic of the Russian Parliament on Thursday [13 May]. The commission was formed to replace a Russian parliamentary committee for issues of economic reform and property, which was disbanded at the end of April.

The former committee, led by a representative of democrats Sergey Krasavchenko, came under strong criticism in connection with the progress of reform and the committee's legislative activities. A proposal to liquidate the committee was made at a session of the parliament when the work of the Russian Committee for Managing State Property was being discussed in connection with the programme of privatisation.

A number of deputies believe that the parliamentary committee was criticised for a number of political and ideological reasons.

Constitutionality of Yeltsin Acts Questioned

LD1305142293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today the Russian parliament was working in separate chambers. Our correspondent's report gives more detail about one of the issues discussed.

[Correspondent Polikarpova] The Soviet of the Republic of the Russian Supreme Soviet today appealed to the Constitutional Court to hand over the conclusions on the constitutional nature of the Russian Federation president's actions with regard to the procedures for adopting the new constitution. Deputy Isakov initiated the appeal to the Constitutional Court. [passage omitted]

Today the deputies of the Soviet of the Republic gave the first reading to the draft law on state secrets, and on amendments and additions to the code on marriage and the family. They also examined the issue of application of the law on the status of the judge.

Similar issues were on the agenda of the Soviet of Nationalities.

Chambers Endorse Appeal to Court

LD1405091493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0842 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov; Moscow ITAR-TASS in English at 0914 GMT on 14 May transmits a service message killing this item]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The Thursday [13 May] decision of the Council of the Republic of the Russian Supreme Soviet to apply to the Constitutional Court on behalf of this chamber with a request to pass a ruling on President Yeltsin's actions linked with the procedure for the adoption of the new constitution was today endorsed by a joint decision of both houses of the Russian Parliament.

Chairman of the Council of the Republic Veniamin Sokolov told the MPs that one house of the parliament had no right to address such an appeal to the Constitutional Court. The House of Nationalities also had to vote for it, which was done during a joint meeting here today morning.

Proceedings for 14 May Joint Session Reported

Yeltsin Constitution To Be Considered

LD1405092493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation will consider the situation in connection with the work on the president's new draft constitution. This question was included in the agenda of today's session of a joint sitting of the chambers, ITAR-TASS reports. Deputy Mikhail Chelnokov, one of the leaders of the Russian Unity opposition parliamentary bloc submitted a proposal, according to which a question about combining deputies' duties with their work in the executive bodies of power was also included in the agenda of the session. He believes that around 200 people's deputies are ready to relinquish their power and thus wreck the quorum of the Congress.

Information Center Denied Finance

LD1405104193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0958 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The Russian Parliament has rejected the suggestion of the Russian president that an item on "stopping as on March 1, 1993, the financing of the Russian Federal Information Centre from the republican budget to the sum of 34 million roubles and channelling the money to public education" be removed from the parliamentary resolution on putting into effect the law "on the republican budget of the Russian Federation for 1993".

The problem was brought up today during the discussion at the session of the president's amendments to the law on the budget, passed by the parliament on March 25. Yeltsin's message to the parliament concerning the item about stopping the financing of the Federal Information Centre says that "it is of purely political character." However, the legislators referred to the resolution of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, which suggested that the president and the prime minister liquidate the Federal Information Centre, and voted against the president's amendment. "The resolution of the congress can be cancelled only by the congress itself," Chairman of the Parliamentary Budget Commission Aleksandr Pochinok said.

Financial Issues, Court Appeal Discussed

LD1405113693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 14 May 93

[Report by correspondents Ioffe and Vozianov from the morning session of the Russian Supreme Soviet; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Ioffe] The session's agenda was busy from the beginning: financial questions, settlement of the Russian troops being withdrawn from abroad, composition of the committee for mass media. There were also additional proposals, however. In particular, some time was needed to persuade Deputy Chelnokov, who worries all the time about the threat of the parliament's dissolution, that the session does not have to be declared an extraordinary one.

The second hearing of the bill on the 1993 budget began with displeasure expressed about the speaker's rank—he was the first deputy finance minister.

[Begin Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov recording] When we are discussing financial questions and expect the finance minister to be here himself, he intentionally leaves Moscow so as not to be present. [end recording]

After that there was discussion of the presidential amendments to the budget. Amendments aimed to reduce the budget deficit by a few tens of thousands of millions were not passed.

[Vozianov] The deputies also adopted a joint petition sent by both chambers to the Constitutional Court to question the constitutionality of the president's actions connected with the procedure for adopting the new constitution.

Just before the break a question on the composition of the committee for mass media was examined. Committee Chairman Lisin stated that such deputies as Yeremin and Kopeyko can stay in the committee even though they do not share the views of its chairman. As for Deputies Nosovets and Mikailov, who are both journalists, Lisin said that he is not prepared to work with these gifted commentators.

Constitutional Court Appeal Approved

LD1405105693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1032 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The Russian Parliament has included in the agenda the item on appealing to the Constitutional Court to decide whether or not the actions of President Yeltsin, connected with the procedure of adopting a new constitution, are in conformity with the existing constitution. The legislators voted for it today at a joint session of the two chambers of parliament.

On Thursday [13 May] a resolution to this effect was passed by the Council of the Republic. However, Chairman of the Council of the Republic Veniamin Sokolov explained journalists today that one chamber could not make such an inquiry to the Constitutional Court. It required the resolution of the two chambers—the Council of the Republic and the Council of Nationalities.

Proceedings of 11 May Presidium Session Detailed

PM1305134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Parliamentary press service report: "Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A routine session of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium was held in the House of the Soviets 11 May with Ruslan Khasbulatov in the chair.

There is currently no norm in existing Russian legislation on pensions provision to regulate the procedure for the payment of pensions to citizens who emigrate from the Russian Federation. In this connection, the draft law "On the Payment of Pensions to Citizens Who Have Emigrated From the Russian Federation" was submitted at the presidium session. By decree of the presidium it has been sent for a decision [zaklyucheniye] to the president of the Russian Federation, and to chamber standing commissions and Supreme Soviet committees, the Russian Government, the Supreme Soviet Presidium Higher Economic Council, and the Supreme Soviet Control and Budget Committee.

Under parliamentary procedure, drafts of the following acts of legislation have been sent for decisions to chamber standing commissions, Supreme Soviet committees, the president of the Russian Federation, and other subjects of legislative initiative:

the laws "On the Registration of Deals Relating to Real Estate" and "On State Awards";

and the Supreme Soviet decree "On the Procedure for Implementing the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Decree 'On Reimbursing Russian Federation People's Deputies for Expenses Relating to Their Activity As Deputies'."

Within the framework of its control functions the Presidium examined the question of the fulfillment of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On the Creation of a Unified Pensions Service in Moscow Oblast As An Experimental Measure" of 6 July 1992. In particular, it was noted that, during the experiment, it had proved possible to improve services to citizens on pensions issues and to strengthen the material base of pensions organs.

Regional Affairs

Local Reaction to North Caucasus Tour Detailed

PM1305124593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Yevtushenko report: "Premier's Transcaucasian Premiere"]

[Text] It is hard to say what prompted the Russian Federation leadership to make such an impressive tour of the North Caucasian republics. Perhaps the desire to study their problems at close hand. Perhaps the results of the referendum, whose first question here (except in North Ossetia) brought an extremely negative response. Or maybe all these things together. One way or another, the North Caucasian republics have never before welcomed such a high-ranking team, and with such reinforced security. Which, however, did not prevent their leaders from swiftly finding their bearings in this situation.

Ingushetia President Ruslan Aushev perhaps managed this best—not for nothing is he a combat general, it seems. The Ingushetia leadership requested $10 million and 60 billion rubles from the Russian Government. This sum, in the opinion of the Ingush Cabinet of Ministers, is needed to lift the republic's economy and to establish its statehood. However, at the same time they did not present any real projects against this money at the talks. And this stopped the Russian premier from making specific promises. "Demonstrate conclusively where the funds are going: What plants, factories, oil rigs, and agricultural enterprises you intend to develop and within what time frame. And we will help," Chernomyrdin assured.

In addition to economic problems, the sides devoted special attention in the talks in Nazran and Vladikavkaz to refugees. Despite the agreements adopted in Kislovodsk, their fate remains unclear. With the mediation of the center, the conflict, as Aushev put it, has been "put on ice." The warring sides have been separated by the Russian powers and are being restrained with the aid of state of emergency regulations. But of course, this cannot last indefinitely. The Ingush are continuing to insist on the satisfaction of their territorial claims in accordance with the law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples and on the introduction of federal rule in Prigorodnyy Rayon. The Ossetian leadership, while agreeing with the impossibility of cohabitation, is campaigning for the construction of new settlements for Ingush refugees on the territory of the Ingush Republic.

In Nazran the main grievances were directed against Boris Yeltsin, who has not kept his promise to the Ingush to fully rehabilitate them (and this was clearly reflected in the results of the referendum). In Vladikavkaz [Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Chairman] Ramazan Abdulatipov, who "drove all nationalities policy into a dead end," was virtually designated as culpable of everything that has happened. It was even suggested that he resign.

In the upshot no specific decisions have yet followed in the wake of the trip of Chernomyrdin and his team. And only Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray expressed the fairly definite opinion that the state of emergency regulations, whose term of operation expires 31 May, will obviously be extended for another two months.

Yesterday, on arriving in Shakhray's homeland—Kabardino-Balkaria—the Russian delegation met with the republic leadership. Its president, Valeriy Kokov, gave assurances of the region's support for Boris Yeltsin and his reforms (which, it is true, you would not say by looking at the referendum results). And, according to tradition, he asked for economic aid. And also for fulfillment of the provisions of the law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples to be accelerated with regard to the republic's Balkar population.

On the same day Chernomyrdin, Shakhray, Abdulatipov, and Stepankov took part in a discussion of the problems of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict in the North Caucasus Coordinating Council with representatives of the region's republics, krays, and oblast. In the afternoon the high-ranking visitors left, this time for the patrimony of Ramazan Abdulatipov—Dagestan.

Abdulatipov Cited on Visit

MK1305092093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 May 93 pp 1, 3

[Igor Terekhov report under the rubric "Authority": "Prime Minister Gives no Handouts. Viktor Chernomyrdin North Caucasus Tour Winds Up"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A North Caucasus Coordination Council session has been held in Nalchik. Taking part in its proceedings were leaders of Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay Cherkessia, North Ossetia, Ingushetia, Dagestan, Krasnodar and Stavropol krays, and Rostov Oblast. The session was to examine integration matters relating to the administrative entities of North Caucasus in the implementation of the economic reforms, and also to elaborate additional measures for the settlement of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict. In the communique on the North Caucasus Coordination Council session, adopted at the session and circulated by the press service of the Russian Council of Ministers, it is stated that "the session's participants gave special attention to the discussion of and agreement on urgent measures to settle the Ingush-Ossetian conflict."

Since journalists were not admitted to the North Caucasus Coordination Council session, and since information on the results of the meeting was extremely poorly disseminated, it is anyone's guess whether the decision to set up an institute of monitors made up of representatives of the republics, krays, and oblasts of the North Caucasus to watch the settlement process should be listed among these urgent measures.

Asked by your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent to comment on the prevailing situation, Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Nationalities, noted that the Ossetian and Ingush sides are not observing the agreements signed in Kislovodsk, in particular those on returning refugees to their places of permanent residence. Each side, he said, declines responsibility and demands that Moscow take decisive actions regarding their opponents in the spirit of the Stalin era. The center, Abdulatipov remarked, favors a negotiating process, and tries to follow a policy of rapprochement through dialogue. The chairman of the Soviet of the Nationalities categorically ruled out the possibility of using force to resolve not only the present conflict, but also any other interethnic problem. [passage omitted]

Businessman Charges Kalmyk President With Corruption

MK1305130093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No 52, 13 May 93 (signed to press 12 May) p 3

[Interview with Mikhail Bocharov, president of the International Russian Club, by Gennadiy Piskarev, published in "Entrepreneur about Entrepreneur" column; place and date not given: "The Murky Water Effect"]

[Text] During the election campaign Moscow pop artists and performers gathered in Elista, vociferously calling on the Kalmyks to vote only for him. [sentence as published] Moreover, the senior priest of an Orthodox church in Elista warned his flock that unless they cast their ballots for the billionaire, he, the holy man, would stop conducting burial services for the parishioners' dead relatives.

Understandably, poets, performers, and spiritual fathers are emotional people, dependent on the fees they earn—they can get carried away. In our pragmatic time, however, it would not be improper to listen to the opinion about the businessman—expressed by another businessman—with whose name the Kalmyk people are linking their hopes and their bright future. There are many such people today. Here is one of them: Just like Ilyumzhinov, he is a Russian Supreme Soviet people's deputy and an entrepreneur—Mikhail Bocharov, chairman of the International Russian Club.

In conversation with our correspondent, he said:

[Bocharov] I think that the people of Kalmykia have made a wrong choice. The first steps and statements by President Ilyumzhinov suggest that he is either a reckless adventurist or a man absolutely incompetent in statesmanship and economic affairs. Just think! To begin by announcing the introduction of capitalism in one republic! It is impossible not only to introduce capitalism but also to build it in an isolated region. Such attempts have been made by Professor Fedorov in Sakhalin, Professor Sobchak in St. Petersburg, Professor Popov in Moscow, and respected Travkin in Shakhovskoy Rayon in the Moscow area. Nothing has come of it, however.

To announce the tripling of wages and in the same breath the tripling of prices for goods and foodstuffs is plain thoughtlessness, blatant economic illiteracy, understandable even to the present-day high school student. I am not even talking about his intention to abolish the top managerial apparatus and the deputy corps. This is not even dilettantism but the infringement of human rights. By mechanically eliminating a part of the deputies he deprives a huge number of voters of the possibility of having their interests represented and maintained in the government structures.

[Piskarev] Mikhail Aleksandrovich, your words sound too harsh and cruel. And then, how can one say that a man who at 30 became so rich that he is economically illiterate?

[Bocharov] I said earlier and I shall repeat: It is possible to make a fortune without being an economics expert. He surfaced in the entrepreneurial milieu in 1991 after the so-called division of the "Kasparov crown." These are trifles, however. In the same year Kalmykia was authorized to export 40,000 tonnes of heating oil and use the proceeds to support the republic's social programs. The operation was conducted via Ilyumzhinov's corporation, San. Nonetheless, Kalmykia did not get a cent from it, while Kirsan [Ilyumzhinov], according to my estimates, "gained" $4.5 million.

[Piskarev] Counting money in other people's pockets, are you?

[Bocharov] I beg your pardon. There are business ethics, business laws. Ilyumzhinov is breaching them. And then he and I are people's deputies of Russia, and we must be concerned about the people's welfare. How is Kirsan taking care of his people? After becoming president, he has not contributed even a modicum of his assets in order to improve somehow the living standards of the people in one of Russia's poorest republics.

By the way, concerning the tricks, to put it mildly, of the San corporation, I directed inquiries to Russian Federation Internal Affairs Minister Yerin and to Russian Federation Security Minister Barannikov; I sent all the compromising documents in my possession and asked them to straighten everything out. I hope that the Russian president, who has proclaimed his firm position in regard to crime fighting, will not ignore this matter.

[Piskarev] Mikhail Aleksandrovich, as you are so intolerant of him, are you sure that Ilyumzhinov has not crossed you in some way in business circles?

[Bocharov] Our business paths have not crossed. What has crossed are the positions of decency and indecency, purity and murky water. In Russia, textile factories, processing factories are stopping due to shortages of raw materials, while Ilyumzhinov, who has engaged in trading the hides of cattle raised in Kalmykia, and wool, is sending raw materials God knows where. The proceeds—thousands of dollars—are not coming to the republic.

Ilyumzhinov is constantly deceiving people. For instance, he is saying that his company does $500 million worth of business. We have no officially registered company in this country with this level of turnover. Then he must not be paying taxes on this income. I asked him bluntly about this but heard nothing coherent in response. If he really receives the income he is claiming, then he must be put on trial for tax evasion. Moreover, Kirsan makes no secret of the fact that he engages in the gambling and restaurant businesses, which are considered worldwide to be money laundering businesses. And this sort of man becomes president?

[Piskarev] Indeed. But then why did he need that? Did he wish to get to power out of naivete or was he motivated by vanity?

[Bocharov] You see, in February 1993, following instructions from the chairman of the Kalmyk Supreme Soviet, a special commission was set up to investigate "Kirsan's machinations." He understood just what that could mean. And so he rushed off to seek high office. He spared no money. But now that he has come to rule over Kalmykia and its unfortunate people, he has thumbed his nose at the Kalmyk people.

Nonetheless, I think that the history of the industrious people of Kalmykia does not end with the election of the president. I honestly wish the Kalmyks to have what they wanted to have. As far as I and my partners are concerned, we shall be investing in Kalmykia, while I repeat that I have transferred to the relevant authorities the documents bearing on the "businessman-president."

Tatar Speaker on Constitution, Relations With Russia

MK1405090093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 May 93 p 1

[Comments by Farid Mukhametshin, speaker of the Tatarstan parliament, as reported by Radik Batyrshin under the "Opinion" rubric: "Kazan Will Not Consider Russian Federation's Draft Constitutions Until a Bilateral Treaty Has Been Signed"]

[Text] The struggle between Boris Yeltsin and his opponents has turned into a confrontation of drafts of the new constitution. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has asked Farid Mukhametshin, Tatarstan Supreme Soviet speaker, to comment.

[Mukhametshin] In spite of the fact that all the requisite state power bodies exist in Russia today, they cannot resolve the problem of adopting a new Constitution. Therefore attempts are being made to shift this task onto the shoulders of the regions in the form of several drafts of the Russian Federation's fundamental law. This will lead inevitably to the transfer of the confrontation to the local level in the interests of resolving the federal authorities' problems. We are firmly for the adoption of a new Russian fundamental law by constitutional bodies. Yet there is a big "however" for us here. Our republic, in defining its attitude to the Russian Federation draft constitution, proceeds from the documents adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tatarstan, in particular the Declaration on State Sovereignty and the new Constitution of Tatarstan. In accordance with them, relations between the Republic of Tatarstan and the

Russian Federation are defined as constitutional and treaty-based. Article 61 of the Tatarstan Constitution says: "The Republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign state, a subject of international law, associated with the Russian Federation on the basis of the treaty on the mutual delegation of powers and jurisdictions." The Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan, taking into account the republic's constitution, appealed to the supreme state bodies of Russia with a proposal on enshrining in the fundamental law of the Russian Federation a provision on constitutional and treaty-based relations between the Republic of Tatarstan and the Russian Federation. So far, however, we have received no official reply.

The will of the people of Tatarstan, its political priorities, were legitimately expressed during the June 1990 presidential elections in the Republic of Tatarstan and during the 25 March 1991 referendum on the state and legal status of the Republic of Tatarstan (with 61.4 percent voting in favor). The Russian referendum on 25 April this year was not valid in Tatarstan since a mere 22.8 percent of the electorate turned out at the polling stations. These political facts cannot be ignored while giving a constitutional definition to relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan. Talks between Russia and Tatarstan on the conclusion of a treaty on the mutual delegation of powers and jurisdictions are proceeding on the joint initiative of Boris Yeltsin and Mintimer Shaymiyev with the participation of representatives of the Supreme Soviets and the governments. During this time drafts of a corresponding treaty and a number of agreements have been prepared. Recently, however, the negotiating process has been frozen; this is not Tatarstan's fault, and the accords reached have not been implemented. All this is causing the republic's people and representatives of the world public to doubt the Russian leadership's commitment to the ideas of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the Russian Federation and the reformation of the federation on new, democratic principles. Moreover, this state of uncertainty in the sphere of regulating our bilateral relations could in the future create real difficulties in the formation of new power and administration structures in the Russian Federation and also result in the absence of representation of the Republic of Tatarstan in the federal structures. We believe that the time has come for an official recognition of the state sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan and for the inclusion into the Russian Federation's new draft constitution of a separate provision on constitutional and treaty-based relations between Russia and Tatarstan as an association formalized via treaty and bilateral agreements.

Situation of 'Two Mordovian Governments' Viewed

PM1405090393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 May 93 p 2

[Natalya Kalitina report: "When the Impossible Happens. Continuation of the Story of How the President Was Overthrown in Mordovia"]

[Text] Saransk—Present-day Soviet Square—around the edges of which, or "nasuporot," as we say in these parts, stand the buildings of the Supreme Soviet, parliament, and Saransk City Soviet—was known as Bazaar Square in the past. Grain and hides were once traded here. And on the monastery stalls you could also get crosses to save your soul. Life is long and the earth is round. You may think you have escaped the past, but a familiar door beckons. Knock, knock! May I come in?

How much love is there among the people today? ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI readers will already know that the two Mordovian governments issued almost simultaneously two absolutely identical decrees introducing bread subsidies. The other day the chairman of the "new" Council of Ministers publicly accused the first deputy head of the "old" government of taking (that is to say, pinching) documents which they had prepared on this score. The leader of the president's apparatus also publicly stated that the V.N. Shvetsov Council of Ministers' decree was a case of plagiarism. It is the V.D. Guslyannikov government that is really responsible for reducing the price of bread.

F.G. Tyurkin, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, reported on local television that the new government is at work. "The Russian Council of Ministers recognizes us. The chairman of the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet has held a conversation with Boris Yeltsin. The tenor of the talk was positive." President V.D. Guslyannikov states (and on 30 April his words were backed up by a Russian Council of Ministers decree) that V.S. Chernomyrdin is working only with the "old" government pending a decision on the question of the constitutionality of the abolition of the presidency in Mordovia.

In April the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet froze the current account of the president's apparatus. The "hand of Moscow" unfroze it. On 5 May Guslyannikov learned that the account had been frozen again.

The Mordovian SSR Internal Affairs Ministry withdrew the former security service from the government building, leaving the president four personal bodyguards. The president "hired" men from the Afghanistan Veterans' Union to carry out the duty. They were on duty for five days. On the sixth day the Internal Affairs Ministry restored the former security guards to the building. The Afghan vets were told not to worry.

At 0500 hours on a fine April morning the administrator of affairs of the new Council of Ministers sealed all the offices of the Mordovian "White House." At 0900 the administrator of affairs of the old government arrived and ripped the seals off the doors.

Yu.F. Yarov [deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers] came to our republic the other day. At the airport two cars pulled up to the aircraft steps, two rooms were prepared for the conference with the guest, and dinner tables were laid in two dining halls. But the task of splitting in two was nevertheless easier to resolve for the visitor, even if he is Russian vice premier. It is more difficult for the locals. At the conference, in the presence of the eminent guest from Moscow, Yu.I. Rybin, chairman of Saransk City Soviet Executive Committee, told the authorities that they must resolve the problem of parallel universes with the utmost possible speed. Otherwise the mayor threatened to partition Soviet Square and erect wire barriers along the border.... As one well-known farmer here said: "This issue has affected everyone in a big way." But have you noticed that we somehow have a wry smile....

This is how we are living. The protest-cum-complaint made by television workers (they are now under pressure from both sides) against the filming ban was addressed to the three branches of power—the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, and the government. The May Day newspapers published decrees by the heads of all three branches of power, and so on and so forth. Here each branch claims to be at best going forward, at worst going sideways, but in no circumstances going backward. The common slogan is: Not one step back.

True, on 5 May a small attempt at compromise was nevertheless made. The upper political echelons finance the "old" government. A considerable section of the economic grass roots obeys the new Council of Ministers. "And if one of them says 'yes' the other says 'no'." Given this, Guslyannikov proposed to Shvetsov that priority documents (on the organization of the children's summer vacation, for example) signed simultaneously by both governments be enacted. However, according to him, Shvetsov cited the need for prior consultation on this problem with the head of parliament, N.V. Biryukov. And Biryukov told Guslyannikov by telephone that if the problem was to be solved he, as the ex-president, had to dismiss the cabinet....

Deadlock once again.

Only God and the constitutional court—or rather the two courts—know how this will all end up. Let me remind ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI readers that the supreme servants of Justice were chosen by the Mordovian parliament. True, here too not everything happened the way it does among ordinary folk. P.T. Yeremkin, former executive director of the government-cum-commercial company "Mordovia," became chairman of the Constitutional Court of Mordovia. The company is famous here precisely because it was Guslyannikov's indirect relationship to it (the not very seemly placement of his wife in a job there and the not very deft favoritism shown toward the company's commercial operations) that served as the cause or, more accurately, the grounds for his "overthrow." People are now scratching their heads: Why was one person dismissed from his job for his relationship (and, what's more, a far from equivalent one) to the "Mordovia" company, while the other was chosen?

The chairman of the Mordovian Constitutional Court began his activity with an interrogation. And it was he who was the recipient of the questions. The point is that criminal proceedings were instigated into the activity of the "Mordovia" company back on 1 March. All 14 of its senior officials, including the former executive director, are currently appearing as witnesses in the case. It is very likely that no individual charge will be brought against anyone. But if, God forbid.... Then peradventure, as our forefathers used to say, there would be something to think about....

But that cannot happen. May fate at least have pity on our republic here.

Commission Formed To Determine Ingush Border

LD1405105893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] The Russian Government has formed a state commission to determine the border with the Ingush Republic. Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the State Commission for Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities, will head the commission.

Yeltsin Signs Document on Komi Economic Development

LD1405085393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0748 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed an instruction on Thursday [13 May] to endorse the status of the programme for developing the economy of the Komi Republic and proposals on the administration of this programme, the Presidential Press Service reported today.

These documents were drawn up by the government of Russia and the Council of Ministers of the Komi Republic. They were also discussed by the Komi Supreme Soviet in keeping with the president's decree of December 23, 1993 "on measures to implement the Federal Treaty in the Komi Republic".

President Yeltsin has instructed the Russian Government to draw up jointly with the Komi Council of Ministers constituent documents for the fund to implement the programme for the economic development of the Komi Republic. They are to be submitted for approval to the Komi Supreme Soviet.

Yeltsin Decrees Restrictions on Krasnodar Kray

LD1305152293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree on measures to stabilize the situation in Krasnodar Kray. This is reported by the NEGA agency. Monitoring of the exit from and entrance of citizens from the former Soviet republics into the Kray will be stepped up. The authorities of the Kray have the right to set up checkpoints throughout the territory, at which vehicles and cargoes will be checked and examined, and in some cases the documents of citizens will be checked and their personal effects examined. The decree has been adopted on the initiative of the administration of Krasnodar Kray.

'Rational' Regional Policy From Center Needed

PM1305112193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 93 p 1

[Valentin Karkavtsev report: "While the Branches of Power Are Growing Rank With Confusion, in the Provinces People Want To Live in Clover"]

[Excerpts] A deadly serious quarrel has flared up in Arkhangelsk: Whether or not there should be a Pomory Republic here [ethnographically, a group of seafaring Russians inhabiting shores of White Sea, descendants of Russian migrants from "free" city of Novgorod]. Opponents of this idea are sparing no efforts, constantly searching for fresh arguments in the archives. [passage omitted]

"But from 1918 through 1920 the Northern Oblast was here, with its own government"—the young historian decants his last argument. "And the destruction of this sovereign state is, from the standpoint of international law, akin to Moscow's occupation of the Baltic republics." [passage omitted]

At first glance it is quite strange that hardened partycrats who only yesterday were solidly behind the "Indestructible Union" are to be found in the ranks of the separatists, as well as those clamourous people who are ready to campaign for anything at all—even for the freedom and independence of an individual rural soviet. But there is little strange about this if one recalls how humiliating the regions' relations with the center were over the course of long decades. Who was it, if not Moscow, that, with the aid of its nomenklatura minions, turned the original Arkhangelsk Kray into a nuclear scrap heap, that set up here an all-Union "101st kilometer" [place of exile for former prisoners]? And now, no sooner has the "strong arm of Moscow" weakened than the regions are beginning to pay Moscow back in the same coin.

The weakened center will hardly be able to affect these trends if it continues to run around the regions with a fire extinguisher rather than seizing the initiative. Everyone understands that the Federal Treaty concluded last year is a product of an ideological, rather than a practical, nature. In fact, it is impossible to count on long-term and friendly cohabitation in this shaky, lopsided structure, where the subjects of the Federation are from the outset sorted into grades: The republic has advantages over the kray, the kray over the oblast, and the oblast over the autonomous okrug. And if this Leninist-Stalinist partition of Russia (which formerly consisted of equal guberniyas) is left untouched, we will hardly manage to rid ourselves of the separatist race, which has only just begun. After all, it is clear that every "principality" that feels itself encroached upon will periodically make pirate raids on the Kremlin in order to obtain for itself more rights, freedom, and money.

Of course, it is possible, just like before, to carpet the provincial bigwigs, to admonish, promise, punish, and pardon. But as in Okudzhava's song, there aren't enough carrots for everyone, and these days you will hardly get through to anyone merely with a stern word. The governor will go home, offended by such treatment, and declare all Yeltsin's edicts invalid on the territory under his trust. Moreover, the provincials, as practical people and not devoid of good-neighborliness, have in recent times been successfully uniting into regional corporations: the Siberian Agreement, the Union of Northern Cities, the Urals Economic Community the "Greater Volga" Association.... You can't talk to "kolkhozes" like this on the level of crude threats.

The conclusion of interoblast socioeconomic unions, like the battle of the regions for increased status, is on the whole understandable. It is possible to stigmatize the provinces for separatism and for the collapse of Russia, but is it not more useful to ponder why centrifugal tendencies are growing at this precise time, and why precisely in "Russian" oblasts? Is this not a defensive reaction on the part of the provinces against the self-sufficient battle for the Kremlin Olympus which has enveloped the capital? The Russian hinterlands, regarding with revulsion how the branches of power are growing rank with confusion, aspire to self-preservation—hence isolationism.

Futurologists are already predicting with a great deal of probability that by the beginning of the 21st century dozens of sovereign countries will emerge in place of Russia. And this is a very sad prognosis. There is probably only one way to prevent it from being realized: to stifle the separatism of the provinces with a rational policy of regionalism emanating from the center.

International Affairs

U.S. Envoy Warns of Possible 'International Isolation'

PM1305171193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Golub report under the "Brief and to the Point" rubric: "Burdensome Missiles!"]

[Text] If Ukraine continues to retain nuclear arms on its territory and does not ratify the START I Treaty, this may result in the young state's international isolation. Roman Popadiuk, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Ukraine, expressed this thought at a meeting with Ukrainian journalists. Elaborating on this thought, he said: If a normal democratic system is established, people would support this state. If the economy continues to decline further, no nuclear arms will be of any help.

Said Pressuring State on Nuclear Arms

WS1405110493 Kiev SAMOSTIYNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 30 Apr 93 p 4

[Article by Yaroslav Holets: "Ambassador Popadiuk Exerts Pressure on Ukraine, Showing Ignorance in History"]

[Text] U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Roman Popadiuk held a news conference two weeks ago, and a couple of days ago he published an article in URYADOVYY KURYER. Mr. Popadiuk's reasons for making so many statements are plain to see. He is actively and honestly pursuing the policy of his bosses, which is aimed at forcing Ukraine into eliminating its nuclear arms as soon as possible, and thus bringing Ukraine to her knees. Our state's position on this would suit both Russia and the United States. Neither of them wants a strong Ukraine. Russia has its own reasons, and they are known—it wants to drive Ukraine back into the imperial swamp. With regard to the United States, it prefers to deal with Russia alone.

The U.S. Administration would like Ukraine to become some amorphous state structure, a banana-republic type of state (which, in our part of the world is rather a beet republic). Officials in Washington, who once supported national movements in the former USSR by word of mouth, do not care about the young state's trials and tribulations. At one time the United States earned dividends on this policy, and prospective presidents received the votes of ethnic Ukrainians living there. Today "independent" U.S. mass media and "independent" political leaders have joined forces in depicting our state as a nuclear monster threatening the entire world. They even blame us for the Chernobyl accident, forgetting that this tragedy was brought to us by the Bolshevik empire.

Such an attitude toward a state and a people who have, in fact, lived through a nuclear war, is not quite tolerant, to put it mildly. It is also devoid of common sense, and does not stand up to criticism. In other words, the fig leaves of American democracy are falling down like faded leaves.

In URYADOVYY KURYER, Ambassador Popadiuk recalls that Ukraine has been granted membership in the CSCE and the North Atlantic Council. This is true. However, according to the ambassador we must now pay for this by ratifying the START treaty and joining the Nuclear Arms Nonproliferation Treaty.

With regard to financial support, Mr. Popadiuk says that the United States has promised to grant Ukraine $175 million for the elimination of its nuclear arms. This is a tremendous sum for the man in the street, but quite a miserable one for a large-scale undertaking. Mr. Popadiuk, I think, knows what this money can buy—very little, indeed. Speaking at the news conference, the ambassador ironically pointed out that this is the sum President Kravchuk applied for, and added that "the bargaining is on" and "someone here cannot count well." Perhaps Ukraine has not learned yet how to count millions of dollars. It has never eliminated missiles. But if there are such devoted people in the U.S. Administration, why did they not hint that $175 million was only enough to build a small factory? However, it is easier to blame others.

Thus, whipping up Ukraine and driving it into giving up its nuclear potential, Mr. Popadiuk says that democratic changes and economic reforms, and not arms, are a decisive factor for Ukrainian stability. At the same time, the U.S. diplomat emphasizes that Russia and the United States can guarantee Ukraine's security. With regard to Russian guarantees, we have heard enough fairy tales. In the course of history, neither the Moscow state nor the Russian Empire ever kept any of their promises. As for the United States, we are not one-horse town residents devoid of any information. We have grounds to doubt the sincerity of the United States' intentions. At the same time, let us not forget (and, as the "holy father," Mr. Ambassador must know) that both Russia and western neighbors have territorial claims to Ukraine. Let us not be naive, and let us keep in mind that Hungary is nurturing hopes to revive itself within the framework of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. (This would meet the West's expectations).

Roman Popadiuk has been writing and saying that he knows the history of Ukrainian-Russian relations. Either he is cheating or he does not know Ukrainian history at all. The most reliable Ukrainian history studies published in the West testify that developed economic relations and democratic institutions could not guarantee security and did not prevent the Moscow state from enslaving Ukraine after the so-called Pereyaslav agreements in the middle of the 17th century.

Medieval travelers considered Ukraine to be a highly developed European state. Such is history. History teaches us, not Mr. Popadiuk.

There is one more thing—Mr. Popadiuk is a servant of two masters. His first master is the Ukrainian nation, because he is a Ukrainian. His other master is his U.S. bosses. The Ukrainian spirit in him is subdued by officials in Washington whose policy is mainly directed against Ukraine. This explains the sources of the ambassador's unfair game, which he calls "an independent exchange of ideas." It becomes an unfair exchange as soon as its aim is to apply systematic pressure on Ukraine.

Envoy Favorably Assesses Trip to Croatia, Slovenia

WS1305143393 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1335 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] Kiev, 11 May—A Ukrainian diplomatic delegation recently paid a visit to Croatia and Slovenia. At a briefing held at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, head of the delegation Andriy Ozodovskyy, Ukrainian ambassador-at-large, spoke about the results of the trip. The leaders of Croatia and Slovenia who met with the Ukrainian diplomats noted Ukraine's increasing role in settling the Yugoslav conflict and its active implementation of the UN peace initiatives.

"We have sufficient potential to influence developments in the conflict zone," declared Ambassador Ozodovskyy. "Ukraine decidedly protests against violating the rights of ethnic Ukrainians in areas of military actions," he stressed. Andriy Ozodovskyy put forward the Ukrainian position on the Balkan crisis:

1. Settlement of all crises on former Yugoslav territory should be carried out by peaceful political means.

2. Respect for all the states of the former Yugoslavia.

3. Noninterference in the internal affairs of the former Yugoslavia.

4. Respect for the ethnic and social differences of the newly-created states.

5. Cessation of all military action by the belligerent parties.

In Andriy Ozodovskyy's opinion, the delegation reached its goals. Although it surely has not stopped the bloodshed, the Ukrainian delegation has succeeded in hastening the peace process, the ambassador believes.

Soldiers Protest Requirements for Baykonur Service

LD1205175093 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1300 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] Almaty—People of Ukrainian origin doing their military service at Baykonur cosmodrome have sent a message via the Leninsk town soviet to Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk. They are asking for their fate to be finally decided.

The point is that the colonels have to take Russian citizenship by 1 September 1993, and the rest, a rank lower, by the end of 1994. Those who do not do this will be discharged without the right to housing and other benefits. Officers and warrant officers are faced with a serious choice: to become citizens of Russia or to lose everything.

This year three successful launches of the Ukrainian "Zenit" carrier rocket have been carried out at Baykonur, in the preparation of which specialists from Ukraine took part. The interest of this republic in the cosmodrome is evident, as it is in space specialists. But the republic's involvement in the fate of the latter is not at all apparent, which is naturally causing alarm. Last July, September, and November, the president, the Supreme Soviet, and Cabinet of Ministers were sent similar messages with the signatures of 1,120 officers and warrant officers at the cosmodrome. But replies have still not been received.

According to the daily republican newspaper KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, the present appeal proposes a compromise. Servicemen at the cosmodrome would be counted among the Ukraine Armed Forces and sent on detachment to serve at the cosmodrome. The Ukraine Government would thereby provide them with guarantees that they will be given housing and pensions after they complete their service.

Picketers in Kiev Demand Release of Demjanjuk

AU1305181793 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 8 May 93 p 1

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "Fact After Fact": "To Put an End to the Ukrainophobic Campaign"]

[Text] The Committee for the Defense of John Demjanjuk organized a picketing demonstration at the Israeli Embassy in Kiev in order to draw the attention of the international community to the campaign of anti-Ukraine phobia that Zionists are conducting in many countries. The picketers tried to submit a letter to Israel's temporary charge d'affaires in Ukraine with a request for the Israeli leadership to release John Demjanjuk from prison. Embassy representatives refused to meet with them.

Plyushch Signs Cooperation Documents, Ends Iran Visit

LD1305160893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] The visit of a parliamentary delegation from Ukraine to the Islamic Republic of Iran ended today. It was headed by Ivan Plyushch, chairman of the Supreme Council. Meetings and talks with President Hashemi-Rafsanjani, other leaders, and representatives of business circles took place. A wide range of issues on bilateral cooperation and implementation of agreements concluded previously were discussed.

A number of joint documents on the results of the visit were signed. In them, the sides confirmed their intentions to develop mutually advantageous cooperation. In particular, the documents pertain to the transit of natural gas via Azerbaijan and Ukraine to Western Europe and the delivery of the first lot of oil from Iran.

National Affairs

Press Service Details Parliament's 11 May Activities

AU1305130793 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 12 May 93 p 3

[Statement by the Press Service of Ukraine's Supreme Council in Kiev; date not given: "In Commissions of Ukraine's Supreme Council"]

[Text] This week, Ukraine's people's deputies have been working in standing commissions of the Supreme Council.

The meeting of the Commission for Questions of Legislation and Law that was held on 11 May dealt with elaborating bills on altering and supplementing current legislation. In particular, the following bills were discussed: on altering Articles 149 and 150 of Ukraine's Constitution, on altering and supplementing the law on the judicial system and the law on the criminal procedural, civil procedural, and arbitration procedural codes, as well as some other legislative acts.

At a joint meeting of the **Commission for Questions on the Chernobyl Catastrophe and of the Commission for Questions on the Development of Basic Branches of the National Economy**, the deputies discussed the draft Concept of State Regulation of Security and Control Over the Development of the Nuclear Industry in Ukraine that had been prepared by the working group.

On the same day, members of the **Commission for Questions of Economic Reform and Management of the National Economy** discussed draft decrees issued by the Cabinet of Ministers. Intensive work was also conducted by a number of other standing commissions.

Parliament Adopts Bill on Refugees

AU1305181593 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 11 May 93 p 2

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "One Paragraph": "Refugees—Such a Problem Exists"]

[Text] About 18,000 refugees presently reside in Ukraine. Until quite recently, however, there has been no legislative act specifying their legal status or questions of ordered reception and humanitarian assistance. The parliament has resolved this problem, which is new for our state, by adopting a bill on refugees. The document establishes legal, economic, and organizational guarantees for the protection of rights of those persons who have been compelled to leave the country of which they are citizens or their country of permanent residence.

Officers Selling Military Premises To Private Companies

WS1305131793 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0720 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Kharkov, 12 May—According to the Kharkov Oblast state administration press service, high-ranking officers from military units at the Kharkov Garrison are embezzling the state property and secretly selling military premises to commercial enterprises. Criminal proceedings have been initiated against some servicemen. The housing situation for the military is deteriorating, and is threatening to approach a critical point, noted Oleksiy Yakhno, oblast state administration press secretary.

Minister Cited on Time, Funds Needed for Conversion

PM1305122393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 May 93 p 2

[RIA report under the "From Our Information Bureau" rubric: "Ukraine Will Need 10 Years To Implement Conversion"]

[Text] Within this 10-year period, it will be necessary to invest $2 billion and around 650 billion karbovantsy in enterprises.

This was announced in an interview for the newspaper KIYEVSKIY VESTNIK by Viktor Antonov, republic minister of machine building, the military-industrial complex, and conversion. In his opinion, the time period could be reduced to four years if foreign capital investments are successfully attracted.

Belarus

Delegation Approaches CIS Summit With 'Moderate Optimism'

WS1405084293 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] A CIS heads of state session starts in Moscow today. The Belarusian delegation is going to Moscow with moderate optimism, said member of the delegation Mikhail Slemnev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for National Policy and CIS Affairs. According to him, the participants of the session are expected to discuss the issue of the first stage of an economic union, including agreements on uniform customs duties and pricing policies. The remaining issues are not ready for discussion yet. The heads of state are also expected to ratify the agreement on the Consultative and Coordinative Committee, signed earlier, as well as agreements on the Executive Secretariat, and permanent and plenipotentiary representatives at the CIS working organs. In Slemnev's opinion, there is no common approach to a comprehensive economic union. He also said that the issue of the military union will not come up at the coming session.

Independent Trade Union Opposes Joining CIS Pact

WS1405090993 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Russian 4 May 93 p 1

[Report by newspaper correspondent Larisa Klyuchnikova under the "Capital Chronicles" rubric: "The Independent Trade Union: 'No New Working Places'"]

[Text] "A military union with CIS will not provide extra job positions for Belarusian workers," Independent Trade Union Chairman Genadiy Bykov told a BELINFORM journalist. According to him, only Russian workers can hope for new slots.

The Independent Trade Union [ITU] will support Stanislav Shushkevich's stand on not entering the collective treaty at the upcoming all-Belarusian referendum. Eventually, the ITU position will be defined at the regular sitting of the ITU Council.

Not long ago, the ITU began establishing contacts with the Russian Independent Trade Union of Miners, Sotsprof [not further identified], and the People's Working Union, which has its headquarters in Moscow.

Prime Minister Kebich Arrives in India for 3-Day Visit

LD1205154093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1337 GMT 12 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Karmalito]

[Text] New Delhi, 12 May—Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus, arrived in the Indian capital for a three-day visit earlier today. The welcoming ceremony in the square by the Rashtrapati Bhavan presidential palace was attended by India's Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and members of his Cabinet of Ministers. The schedule for the visit includes meetings and talks with the president, vice president, prime minister, and other Indian leaders. A package of documents will be signed at the conclusion of the visit. These documents will define the main principles of bilateral relations and directions of cooperation between India and Belarus.

Protocol on Economic Cooperation With Tajikistan Signed

WS1405094193 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0700 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Vice prime ministers of the Republic of Belarus and the Republic of Tajikistan, Nikolay Kostikov and Abduljalil Samadov, respectively, signed an intergovernment protocol on expansion of mutually advantageous economic cooperation in Dushanbe yesterday. The sides have come to an agreement on the necessity of creating joint ventures in agricultural production and processing.

Cabinet Forms State Secretariat for Provinces

WS1405085393 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1021 GMT 13 May 93

[BELINFORM unidentified article: "The State Secretariat for Territories Formed"]

[Text] By the decree of the Belarusian Council of Ministers, a State Secretariat for Provinces [territoriy] was formed within the Belarusian Government. It will upgrade the existing system of state management at the level of the Republic and the provinces, coordinate activities of different branches in the economy of the provinces, and develop and implement socioeconomic programs.

Nikolay Nikolayevich Nikoilayev was assigned to the post of the state secretary of the new organization. He was born in 1949. He is Belarusian. He started to work as a worker at Minsk motorcar factory. He gradutcd from Belarusian Institute of Economy and was qualified as an economist. For the last several years, he was the chairman of Slutsk executive city council.

Democratic Forces Draft Law on Presidential Powers

WS1305073993 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] A regular session of the Patriotic and Democratic Forces of Belarus consultative committee has been held. Its participants discussed the issue of introducing a presidency in the Republic and a draft law submitted for discussion by the United Democratic Party of Belarus [ODPB]. Another document drafted by the ODPB—the law on political parties and movements—has also been discussed. A decision has been made to hold consultations and complete the draft law on presidential powers with regard for amendments suggested by other parties.

Moldova

Sangheli Addresses Parliament on Economic Problems

LD1305165693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1639 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau May 13 TASS—Moldovan Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli pins his hopes on stabilization of the country's economy in the second half of the year.

Despite the difficulties, spring field works are drawing to an end, he told Moldovan parliament on Thursday [13 May]. In experts' opinion, a rich harvest and large profits are expected in the major sector of Moldovan economy—agro-industrial complex.

The situation in cattle-breeding is more problematic. The increase in fodder and fuel prices, the complications in the settling of accounts with the other former Soviet republics dealt a hard blow on Moldovan cattle-breeders.

Although the rate of industrial slump is slowing down, it was not stopped completely. Compared to the corresponding period of the last year, the republic's industrial output has decreased 7 per cent. The causes are identical—disruption of the traditional business links, incessant rise in prices.

The enterprises, which had envisaged the crisis and managed to make the necessary re-adjustments, nowadays are in the lead, according to Sangheli.

The Moldovan Government intends to offer long-term credits to the enterprises and to solve the problem of settlements with the CIS countries.

Sangheli said that the republic's economy depended upon its energy complex, which was, in its turn, dependent on the situation in the larger energy complex of the Commonwealth.

"Moldova has to spend about 400 million dollars to meet domestic energy demand," he said.

Cooperation Agreement With Ukrainian Prosecutors

LD1205153293 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1953 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] [No dateline as received] Viktor Shyshkin, the general procurator of Ukraine, and Dumitru Postovan, the general procurator of the Republic of Moldova, signed an agreement in Chisinau on legal assistance and cooperation.

Legal assistance will be granted on issues that proceed from international treaties and agreements, infringements of the law on economic and foreign economic activity, abiding by the laws on the state border and customs, environmental protection, the initiation or the continuation of a criminal persecution, the investigation of crimes, the handing over of persons who have committed crimes, the search for stolen property, the return of illegally obtained articles and valuables, and the rehabilitation of victims of political repressions.

The sides agreed to inform one another and to coordinate actions during the investigation of crimes that are of an international nature: organized crime, dealing in narcotics, terrorism, ecological catastrophes, and others.

It was also acknowledged to be possible to provide other legal assistance on issues of the procuracy's activity, as well as to broaden nonlegal cooperation, including the exchange of experience, the granting of assistance in raising qualifications of procuracy employees, the formation of groups to coordinate work in certain directions, and the exchange of statistical and other information.

[Signed] The press service of the general procuracy of Ukraine

Draft Constitution in Line With International Standards

AU1205165893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1904 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 11/5/1993—Attempts to exclude from the project of the constitution such notions as "national minorities" and "ethnic groups" as evidence that Moldova fails to respect international conventions on this problem have absolutely no basis, declared Boris Negru, the head of Human Rights and Legislative Department of Parliamentary Staff in Chisinau, one of the authors of the present project in an interview released for the newspaper PACEA CIVICA [CIVIC PEACE]. Some additional evidence against the project of the new constitution suggests that the state is going to adopt guardianship over all citizens without dividing them into categories on an ethnic basis, expressed Negru. The absolute majority of countries have constitutions which don't include concepts such as "ethnic groups" or "national minorities," changes in the event of a union between people, and providing equal rights and freedoms for people who hold original nationalities and those who are autonomous. Answering the question concerning international expertise for the project of new constitution, Negru specified that scientists from Sorbonne University and scientific centres from the United States confirmed the correspondence between the project of Moldova's constitution and international standards.

Draft Law on Gagauz Autonomy Submitted to Parliament

PM1405115593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Svetlana Gamova report: "Autonomy Offered to the Gagauz"]

[Text] Chisinau—A regular session of the Moldovan parliament opened with a discussion of the so-called Gagauz question, first raised by the population of the southern regions in 1989.

The idea then mooted of autonomy for the region was acknowledged as seditious, and the small people's aspiration to be recognized as such was seen as an infringement of Moldova's integrity. After the famous march against the Gagauz by Moldovan volunteers, which was organized by the national-patriots, the south proclaimed itself an independent republic and started to form autonomous power structures. It has taken three years and a change of leadership in the Moldovan parliament for mistrust to be replaced by hope.

A commission on the southern regions' problems, set up on the initiative of Parliamentary Chairman P. Lucinschi, achieved much, bringing into its composition Gagauz representatives. It turned out that compromises, which neither side even wanted to talk about previously, proved not to be so difficult. The Gagauz, having renounced their former categorical stance—namely, to join Moldova only on the basis of a confederation treaty—agreed to an autonomous formation. The Moldovan side made a reciprocal move, incorporating in the draft law "On the Special Legal Status of the Territory Densely Populated by the Gagauz, 'Gagauz-Yeri'" (Gagauz Land), a demand by Gagauz representatives regarding the region's right to self-determination in the event of a change in Moldova's status as an independent state.

Under the draft, the region's organ of representative power may be endowed with the right of lawmaking functions. There is just one condition—that laws adopted by the autonomous formation should not contradict the republic's constitution, and as such they will be subject to mandatory scrutiny by the Moldovan Government. It is proposed that the corps of deputies elect the regional administration head, but the Moldovan president will have to confirm him. Judges, prosecutors, and other leaders of appropriate services will be confirmed in Chisinau on the recommendation of Komrat, the south's central city. The autonomous formation will have its own security services, internal affairs ministry, and internal troops, provided that they are subordinated to the relevant Moldovan ministries. Should the law be adopted, the region will be able to determine its own budget, plan its life in its own right, and trade with foreign countries autonomously. In short, the draft submitted to the Moldovan parliament guarantees the broadest form of autonomy for the southern regions, which Moldova's President M. Snegur promised even before the talks began.

Self-Administration Rejected

AU1405105293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1948 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 13/5/1993—Special status for the regions with a densely living Gagauzian population can only be approved on the basis of the Common Declaration of Human Rights, declared Alexandru Arseni, the President of Parliamentary Commission for Human Rights and National Relations, while been interviewed by a BASAPRESS agency correspondent. He specified that neither from the historical nor from the judicial point of view Gagauzia has no rights to plead for self-administration. "We can admit the use of Gagauzian symbols as the national ones but not as state attributes", concluded Arseni. In addition, he said that the Parliamentary Commission for Human Rights insists on excluding from the project and references to the right of self-administration.

Further Reaction

AU1405105093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1948 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 13/5/1993—Yesterday's session of the Parliament started with rejection by deputies of the proposal to directly broadcast by radio debates regarding the project of the law with regard to the special judicial status of the territory densely populated by Gagauzians involving the Gagauz Eri. Alexandru Arseni, president of the Parliamentary Commission for Human Rights and National Relations, qualified the project of the law as a "time bomb." The creation of territorial division on the basis of ethnic criteria could generate trends of "ethnic purification" and lay the basis for future internal "economic conflicts," clarified Arseni, also adding that Moldova as a state must defend its citizens by laws and constitution regardless of nationality. More deputies, belonging basically to Parliamentary factions of Democrats and the CDPF [Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova] have supported excluding paragraph three from article 1 of the project which provides for the exclusive right to self-determination by Gagauzians in the event Moldova changes its state status of an independent state. "Democrats" proposed through their representatives to take as a basis for the project of the law the concept of local autonomy and self-administration with some additional provisions. Gagauzian deputies adopted a moderate attitude during the discussion. Feodor Angheli, especially, calculated that if the present legislative body fails to adopt the project of the law then the following body will do and Gagauzians will not make a tragedy out of this. Deputy Marinov, also a representative of the southern regions, advised that should the project not be adopted the "Gagauzian people will understand that it must decide its future without the contribution of Moldova." Finally, deputies decided to offer to the Commission which elaborated the project of the law a recreation for different completions and clarifications and debates will continue on Tuesday, May the 18th.

FPCD Leader Accuses Snegur of Harassment

AU1305132793 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 11 May 93 p 8

[Interview with Iurie Rosca, vice president of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova, by unidentified BBC correspondent; place and date not given: "A New Intimidation of the Opposition"]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Rosca, you were sued for having published an article criticizing Moldovan President Mircea Snegur and have already appeared before a prosecutor in Chisinau regarding this. What are you actually being accused of?

[Rosca] I am accused of wounding the dignity and honor of the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur. The accusation is made on the basis of an article published on 17 February 1993 in our weekly TARA [THE COUNTRY], an article which contained several critical remarks about President Snegur's activity.

The most curious thing about it all is that this article did nothing else but repeat various statements and opinions contained in at least 100 articles that appeared before the article I wrote.

[Reporter] Why do you think that the president picked on your article especially?

[Rosca] I do not believe it was so much my article, but rather myself personally that he does not like, for various reasons; or maybe for the simple reason that I was, and remain, one of those who refused to collude with the authorities, including with President Snegur, and he is aware of my opinions, which I have always disclosed to the public at large. Hence this "preferential" treatment, so to speak.

[Reporter] Now you are waiting for the trial...

[Rosca] Yes. In the meantime, I was visited on two occasions at our headquarters by a man from Chisinau's Prosecutor's Office named Guzun [Gheorghe Guzun, investigator with Chisinau's Prosecutor's Office], after which I was summoned three times to the Prosecutor's Officer, where I was briefed on my file. On 4 May, I signed that I took note of all the materials contained in my file. A few days before that, on 29 April, I signed an interdiction to leave town, which, if it was not exactly tantamount to house arrest, meant, nevertheless, that I am not allowed to leave Chisinau without the approval of the investigator or the respective judicial body, should the case come to court. I have never doubted the fact that he is the president of the Republic of Moldova; all I did was to have my doubts about his actions. I believe that he was particularly upset by three expressions in that article: abuse of power, the Snegur plan, and Romaniaphobia. These were the main counts of indictment against me; maybe you are aware of the fact that Parliament has passed an amendment to the Penal Code designed to "tame the opposition," an amendment envisaging prison terms of up to 5 years for such cases, with the minimum sentence being 2 years of correctional labor. We suspect that the president's aides are probably thinking that they will not be able to apply the maximum sentence this time, if they win the trial. However, a very favorable situation is thus being set up for the executive power, namely a penal precedent, meaning that after the court trial, which I think will be won by President Snegur, I am supposed to swallow it all and shut up. This is the kind of scenario we suspect they are playing with. Of course, this is nothing more than a new attempt to intimidate the opposition, particularly the Christian Democratic Popular Front [FPCD].

[Reporter] Mr. Rosca, the charges brought against you, as well as Mr. Mircea Druc's resignation from the FPCD leadership—against the background of FPCD's decline in popularity—are pretty strong blows. What is your reaction to all this?

[Rosca] Our popular support has decreased because the goals have changed. I do not believe that the Popular Front's popularity is decreasing. On the contrary, we are getting new members, let alone the fact that our sympathizers and the newspaper's circulation are continuously on the increase. Of course, we cannot expect a sudden increase in popularity for the simple reason that we do not have the necessary mechanisms to inform the public about our stands, except for the weekly TARA. We have only 20 minutes on television and 30 minutes on the radio every month, against the administration's nonstop 24 hours. This is the situation.

[Reporter] Now, in your capacity as the Popular Front's president, following Mr. Druc's resignation, what are your plans for the Front's activity?

[Rosca] You see, up to a point we can be compared to any traditional party from any country, be it Romania or elsewhere, which is mainly interested in polishing its image for winning the elections. However, the situation is rather special with us, since we are also a national liberation movement. Therefore all our steps can only be characterized by: consistency, intransigence, and the drive to inform the people about our program, our intentions, and our daily and long-term goals.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Notes Priorities in Political Work

PM1205152793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Vladimir Ardayev report: "N. Nazarbayev Formulates Consolidation and Social Partnership Policy"]

[Text] Almaty—Workers from Kazakhstan's state organs held a conference 11 May in Almaty concerning questions of political activity. President N. Nazarbayev, who gave a report entitled "Toward Consolidation, Public Progress, and Social Partnership," explained the stance of the republic's leadership.

The speaker stressed that the principles of the policy of renewal are enshrined in the recently adopted Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan. It will form the basis of new approaches to the formation of public awareness, which will take the place of the collapsed communist ideology. The president formulated the policy of consolidation, public progress, and social partnership as an idea that could become the bedrock of political work in Kazakhstan. Political parties and social movements hold great potential for achieving these aims, in his view.

The speaker named the consolidation of civil peace and interethnic accord in the republic as the first goal in political work. The firm establishment of the idea of pragmatism in its Kazakhstani form is a means of realizing this goal. This is a question not only of paying maximum attention to the requirements of all nations and nationalities living in the republic, but also of creating a mechanism for interethnic self-regulation, the function of which N. Nazarbayev proposed that the Assembly of Accord and Unification, which will be created in Kazakhstan, should fulfill.

The president of Kazakhstan put forward the idea of Kazakhstani patriotism as another important sphere in the consolidation of society. This essentially concerns the formation of a new civil nation—the Kazakhstani nation.

Touching on Kazakhstan's foreign policy priorities, N. Nazarbayev gave assurances that prime significance is being given to cooperation with Russia, to which the republic is tied not only by historical relations of good-neighborliness, but also strong partnership commitments. He called relations with the peoples of the Central Asian republics traditionally friendly, and relations with other CIS states relations of close alliance. As far as the "distant foreign parts" are concerned, the president said, Kazakhstan is adhering to a multipolar orientation.

Nazarbayev called legal sophistication and legal reform, as well as the acceleration of economic reform, important aspects of political work.

Speaking about stirring to action all the intellectual forces of society, the president of Kazakhstan specifically touched on the activity of the mass media. He stressed that in particular Kazakhstani television is not coping with the imbalance that is taking shape today in Kazakhstan's information area, and he primarily had in mind the fact that a significant proportion of air time is taken up by Russian television channels, as well as Uzbek and Turkish television channels. According to N. Nazarbayev, the information imbalance must be rectified by means of beefing up domestic broadcasting.

Nazarbayav Speaks at Workshop on Privatization

LD1305182593 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1200 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Urgent tasks in connection with the implementation of the national program for removing state control and privatization for the years 1993-95 (the second stage) were discussed 12 May at a workshop held in Almaty. It was opened by President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

At the recent session of the Supreme Kenges, the head of state reminded that everything necessary for the implementation of this program had been done. Additional changes and amendments dictated by the current situation have been entered into the corresponding bills, the president has issued decrees and resolutions, and, to put it briefly, a sound legal basis has been created. The time has come to put all these plans into effect. At the first stage privatization has not brought about the desired results. Quite often it meant only changing signboards. Currently it is being implemented from the owner's stand—the state—which begins it and takes up all the responsibility for promoting this process which in many ways determines the plight of the market transformations.

Time does not wait, the president stressed. Any delay in reform keeps us away from that very moment when the competitive environment will be formed in the production and other spheres which will enable us to overcome the economic crisis and move forward.

Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko and his deputy, Zhanibek Karibzhanov, who is also chairman of the State Committee for Property, as well as the developers of the package of documents concerning various aspects of implementing the national program of privatization and removing state control then presented reports.

It was noted that the program, which had been widely discussed by the general public and confirmed by the president, has found broad understanding and support among the people. Measures aimed at the property transformation should by 1996 lead to an established market economy in the republic. The work will be done along several guidelines and cover the trade, catering, food, and transport organizations. This is the so-called small privatization. It will also cover large and medium industrial enterprises which will be transformed into joint stock and shareholding companies as well as agricultural ones including servicing and maintenance of [word indistinct] and processing of products.

Transformation of state farms should take place with an obligatory personification of property which has been previously neglected. Each worker should be given his quota of land and his share should be determined in rubles.

It is certain that not everyone can become an entrepreneur. But from now on, all citizens of the republic are given equal conditions for participation in the massive-scale privatization—privatization funds will be set up and special investment coupons will be handed out. Taking the inflation process into account, the coupons' face value has not been stated yet. It will be possible to pay at once 20 percent of the coupons into any privatization fund of one's choice. They represent a kind of go-between agencies, which closely interact with enterprises and financial organizations. In future, these funds are most likely to join with production and become owners of property themselves and receive dividends. It will not be permitted to sell coupons at first and only later, when the market itself will show their real price, will it become possible to sell them, to exchange them for shares, thus participating in the securities market. To privatize state property it will be allowed to use residential housing coupons.

Much attention at the workshop has been paid to the ways of privatization. Auctions, commercial contests, will be widely spread with the liabilities pledged to produce a certain kind of product specified by an agreement. The allowances to be made for the collectives of the privatized enterprises have been stipulated.

A warning of probable violations of this law was voiced by Prosecutor General Zharmakhan Tuyakbayev who said that at the first stage of removing property from under the state control the prosecutor's offices had appealed against 70 previous decisions on privatization. In all those cases the existing legal procedures had been violated while privatizing.

Nursultan Nazarbayev summed up the conclusions of this businesslike discussion. The president reminded the heads of oblast administrations that they were in the first instance responsible for the implementation of the national privatization program. Each of them must have an in-depth knowledge of the whole package, personally manage this important process, and widely inform the population about its progress. Kenges of all levels should help the administration in this respect. Privatization must become one of the leading topics for the mass media.

Supreme Kenges Deputy Chairman Kayrolla Erezhepov participated in the workshop.

Deutsche Bank Opens Branch in Almaty

LD1205185893 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1300 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] The biggest bank in Germany, Deutsche Bank, has opened a branch in Almaty. Member of the Board Georg Krupp expressed the hope that cooperation between German and Kazakhstan financiers will now become more fruitful and closer.

The Deutsche Bank believes that the appearance of German entrepreneurs on the Kazakhstan market will be accompanied by civilized interbank relations. At the same time, its specialists have high hopes about the increasing role on the international arena of the Republic, which is rich in mineral resources.

The bank has opened branches in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, and Tbilisi. The Almaty branch will serve not only Kazakhstan but all of the Central Asian republics of the former USSR.

Wolf Wokurka [name as received], who was appointed head of the branch, informed those present at the opening that the bank is already cooperating with 20 banks in Kazakhstan in foreign trade activities and that it has corresponding accounts in nine of them.

Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko spoke at the presentation. He highly evaluated the prospects for mutual cooperation between the banks of Kazakhstan and Deutsche Bank.

Vice President Yerik Asanbayev and representatives of the largest republican banks also attended the reception.

French Firm Funds Oil Prospecting

PM1305085493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 10 May 93

[Report by I. Deryugin; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In the opinion of Western experts Kazakhstan is one of the most favorable zones for investment on the territory of the former Union. The first and so far the only foreign firm to have signed large oil contracts in Kazakhstan has been the French firm Elf-Aquitaine. It has acquired the right to prospecting work in the Temir sector of Aktyubinsk Oblast with a total area of 19,000 square km. All expenditure at this stage—and according to preliminary figures about $0.5 billion will be required—is being shouldered by the French side, which is taking a considerable risk here. Here Kazakhstan remains the sole owner of the oil deposits which are discovered. In the summer the first drilling rig will be installed. Kazakhstan has already begun to receive tangible benefit from this project: Over $10 million received from the French side for the use of geololgical materials and as a bonus has been channeled into developing the social base of the rural rayons of north Kazakhstan.

Kyrgyzstan

Foreign Ministry Denies Report on Uzbek Military Buildup

LD1305165493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1615 GMT 13 May 93

[By KYRGYZKABAR correspondent Albert Bogdanov for TASS]

[Text] Bishkek, 13 May—Kyrgyzstan's Foreign Ministry has denied a report that Uzbekistan is massing troops and military hardware on Kyrgyz territory. A statement issued to the media today says that Kyrgyzstan has no complaint against Uzbekistan, which has been carrying out planned exercises at a training ground in Kyrgyzstan. It is being used in accordance with an agreement concluded between the two states last year.

President Discusses Economy, International Relations

AU1305123493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 May 93 p 9

[Interview with President Askar Akayev by Jiri Doubrava in Bishkek; date not given: "The Kyrgyz President: We Are Fleeing From Inflation"]

[Text] Last week was one of the most important in Kyrgyzstan's modern history—a new Constitution was adopted, and the republic decided to introduce its own currency, the som. Therefore, MLADA FRONTA DNES asked the country's president, Askar Akayev, for an interview.

[Doubrava] Mr. President, not much is known in our country about your country. The simplified impression is that Kyrgyzstan is a democratic but impoverished republic. Human rights are observed in your country, in comparison with your neighbors, but you do not have their raw material wealth.

[Akayev] Do not be surprised by the fact that we have embarked upon a democratic road or that there is freedom of speech in our country. Although, I have to say it hurts sometimes, I am often criticized.... As we say here: If you love a rose, you must suffer. Our attitude toward democracy stems from local traditions. During the last century, our forebears attempted to free themselves from Russia's imperial influence. According to an authoritative international evaluation made in 1992, human rights in our country are on the same high level as, for instance, those in Finland. Naturally, we are proud of this. As for being impoverished.... The structure of our economy is really very disadvantageous. We are utterly dependent on raw material supplies from the other former Soviet republics. Our economic problems are colossal. Industry has to import 85 percent of its production components and it exports 90 percent of its output. The breakdown of economic relations led to its collapse.

[Doubrava] Do you think it is wise—in such a situation—to replace the ruble with your own currency?

[Akayev] There is no other solution. Russian inflation is like the ninth wave, which is fatal to sailors. Everything is drawn back into the Russian inflationary sea. If we did not part with the ruble, we could not draft a budget, and our reforms would be pointless. We have held talks with the International Monetary Fund, and we have been promised international aid, for example, from Japan.

[Doubrava] Are you apprehensive about the Ukrainian blind alley (Ukraine attempted to combat ruble inflation by introducing its own kharbovanets, but this is now worth even less than the ruble—author's note)?

[Akayev] We are not apprehensive, although the reasons huge Ukraine and tiny Kyrgyzstan have found themselves in the same situation are the same in the end—they do not have their own oil. However, Ukraine has not received any support from the international financial world. We are the only country from the Commonwealth of Independent States that has signed an agreement with the IMF on financing reform. The conditions we are offering to foreign investors are such that we expect them to come.

[Doubrava] How do you view future relations among Kyrgyz, Russians, and other ethnic groups in your country?

[Akayev] It would be difficult to find a country anywhere in the world populated by people belonging to 83 different ethnic groups. Many of them were forcibly resettled here under Stalin and, in my opinion, we have behaved well toward all of them. Kyrgyz account for just over 50 percent of the population (the country has 4.3 million inhabitants), but there are also 500,000 Uzbeks here and 80,000 Germans. The constitution enshrines norms for the protection of all minorities, which—of course—concerns the Russians. They need not worry.

[Doubrava] Many people in our country view the Central Asian republics as a single unit where there is always strife. Will there be any shooting in your country?

[Akayev] There is no shooting, and there will not be any. There is no reason for this.

[Doubrava] What will happen to your writing? You write now in an adapted Cyrillic script.

[Akayev] I wrote in Latin script as a boy, then the Cyrillic script came along, and now the experts are arguing among themselves. Many of them think it would be better to return to the Latin script, but no official decision has been made yet.

[Doubrava] The Czech ambassador to Moscow, Rudolf Slansky, handed you his letters of accreditation at the beginning of last week, and so there are now diplomatic ties between our two countries, although our ambassador is still based in the Russian capital....

[Akayev] We did not perceive the handover of his letters of accreditation merely as a formal act. When I spoke about minorities—there are also Czechs among them. They came here in the mid-1920's within the framework of the Interhelpo project. There may now be various opinions about this, but one thing has remained the same—the word Czech in our country means resourceful. Czechs laid the foundations of our industry, and they built our first factories. They operate to this day. There is a great deal of your equipment in our country; Tatra trucks run here, for which we need spare parts.... We are two postcommunist countries; therefore, we have some common problems. Something else: I am a great admirer of President Havel, whom I have already met. I regard him as a symbol of change, as an example.

Prime Minister on CIS Meeting, Introduction of Currency

LD1305143293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1317 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek May 13 TASS—The agenda for the new meeting of Heads of State and Government of the CIS is of importance for the strengthening of the Commonwealth. It deals with supranational organs, for instance, of economic cooperation. It is a new step for the integration of the CIS countries. Tursunbek Chyngyshev, Kyrgyzstan prime minister, said this to ITAR-TASS before taking a plane to Moscow.

Regarding problems of the introduction of national currencies in former Union republics, the prime minister said: "All states of the CIS should introduce their national currency. What is more, everybody are ready for this. National currency is just an element of a market-oriented economic reform. The rouble has long been the common currency only nominally. Withdrawal of CIS countries from the rouble zone is above of all in Russia's interest. This will help Russia shore up its own currency and implement its economic reforms".

"We favour the consolidation of economic ties of all countries of the CIS", Kyrgyzstan's prime minister said. "None of us can survive without the aid of former Union republics. We have to develop our economies together. So the introduction of one's own currency does not tear us away from the Commonwealth countries".

Russian Banker on Currency

LD1105205493 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] (Aleksandr Khondruyev), first deputy chairman of the Russian Central Bank, has expressed the opinion that the fact that Kyrgyzstan has introduced its national currency, the som, does not mean that this Central Asian republic is leaving the ruble zone. (Khondruyev) believes that it is more probable that Kyrgyzstan has taken this measure due to a shortage of ready cash.

However, there is a another reason for the introduction of the national currency. According to specialists, the clearly inflated exchange rate of 200 rubles to one som will significantly decrease Kyrgyzstan's ruble debt to Russia.

Tajikistan

Islamic Armed Groups Concentrating on Afghan Border

LD1305120693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border has aggravated again. Armed groups of the Islamic opposition that fled from Tajikistan to Afghanistan have concentrated on the Afghan bank of the frontier River Pyandzh. Its leaders are believed to be ready to carry out another large-scale military operation against Tajikistan.

The republic's Foreign Ministry has said it has to ask that the third countries boost pressure on the Afghan official quarters to prevent another bloodshed in the south of Central Asia.

Premier on Economic Policies, Situation in Country

LD1405102393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] [Announcer] The Tajik Government has begun to reestablish its economy, carrying out the necessary reforms. Tajikistan is a Central Asian republic that had formerly been incorporated in the Soviet Union. Soon after it had proclaimed its sovereignty, a civil war broke out in Tajikistan. At present the war has ended. The Tajik Prime Minister, Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov, has told journalists about the situation in the country and about the first steps made by the new government. As a result of the civil war waged in Tajikistan about 20,000 people have died and about 10,000 are missing. After the civil war, refugees began flocking into the country. Some of the Tajiks tried to escape ethnic persecution and took refuge in the neighboring Afghanistan. About 30,000 people have already returned from Afghanistan and more than 50,000 people are still there. Russian speaking people that occupied the leading positions as managerial staff and were also leading specialists in the public health services or higher educational institutions, have either moved to Russia or are ready to move there.

Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov, the prime minister of Tajikistan, has characterized the state in which the republican economy was, saying that it is catastrophic. As regards political and economic prospects, judging by the words of the Tajik prime minister, the republic has chosen the road of building a democratic, law-abiding and secular state.

[Abdullodzhanov in Tajik fading to English report] First of all we must restore the national economy wrecked during the fratricidal war, for which there is no justification. Another objective is to provide an abundance of foodstuffs, Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov said. In order to restore the economy and to carry out the reforms, the republic needs to eliminate the last hotbeds of civil war, still stirred up by the Afghan mojahedin. The republic also needs political stabilization, investments and work force. The Tajik leadership is also interested in creating a single economic space in the Commonwealth states and in preserving those ties that have been established during the 70 years Tajikistan has been a Soviet republic. Tajikistan has the same currency as Russia and it needs Russian military and technical help. The Tajik authorities understand that it is impossible to restore the economy without highly-skilled personnel and therefore, they are taking some measures to cut the exodus of Russian-speaking people.

Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov is saying, now the government has made three suggestions at the Supreme Soviet. First is to declare the Russian language as a second state language and the language of international communication. Secondly, all the Russian-speaking people must be allowed to have double citizenship, and, thirdly, a law must be adopted on national minorities. The Tajik Government is interested in attracting investments in all the spheres of the national economy and also in economic projects. At present, a number of laws of defense of the investments and their guarantees including foreign investment are being worked out. Priority is given to cotton-processing and silkworm breeding. The joint ventures with the participation of Israeli, Canadian, and U.S. capital are using wider territories for cotton growing. Investors may also be interested in the processing of vegetables and fruit. Besides, the government officials think that the extraction and polishing of granite and marble, other precious and semi-precious stones, and also the development of hydroelectric power industry and tourism, may be of interest for investors too.

[Announcer] And that was some points of view made by the Tajik Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov to journalists.

Economy Minister: No Plans To Issue Own Currency

LD1205165393 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] Tajikistan has no plans for introducing its own currency in the near future, Economy Minister Ismail Davlatov has said. He recognized as legitimate the striving of independent sovereign states to have their own money. He noted, however, that a currency should be backed up by gold reserves or goods. In this aspect, Tajikistan has no plans for introducing its own currency for the time being, although government members and bankers are not unanimous on this issue, Tajikistan's economy minister remarked.

Uzbekistan

President Receives Deutsche Bank Chief 8 May

LD1105143593 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1109 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] Tashkent 11 May— On 8 May Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov received a delegation from one of the biggest banks in the world, Deutsche Bank, headed by a member of the Board of the Council, Mr. Georg Krupp. He told the guests about his impressions of his recent visit to Germany, about links between Germany and Uzbekistan, and about the economic reform which is being carried out in Uzbekistan. Noting the rich economic potential of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and the creation of the essential legal foundations for attracting investments, he stressed the usefulness and mutual benefit of bilateral cooperation between the Deutsche Bank and banks of Uzbekistan.

Karimov Discusses Introduction of New Currency

LD1305150193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0730 GMT 13 May 93

[Excerpts] A session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Uzbekistan was held in Tashkent. [passage omitted] President Islam Abduganiyevich Karimov of the Republic of Uzbekistan spoke twice at the session. [passage omitted]

The head of the republic said repeatedly that for every leader the good of Uzbekistan must stand above every personal good. The president's second speech was devoted to the draft law on the money system of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The headline contains the words: The transfer to the new currency is equivalent to a revolution. The key element in the speech is the phrase: Any revolution must not suffer haste, but must be underpinned by very weighty arguments. The fact that the present conditions themselves are prompting the need for moving to a national currency is unquestioned. With the help of specialists from the very biggest, most prestigious banks of the world, preparatory work is under way. I quote, it is not a secret, said Islam Karimov, that now in the banks of all our oblasts the national currency is being stored, manufactured abroad on order from us. We have called our national currency the (sum). We have done a great deal of work on this matter. We are ready to move to the new money, end of quotation.

That is one side of the question. Analyzing the situation, the president of the Republic recalled that the state, once part of the Union, is economically so closely intertwined with each other [as heard], that it is not possible to separate them or provide them with conditions for independent functioning all at once. This is the real world. Karimov's attitude here is firm. I quote: We need Russia like air and water. We need its potential and links. However hard it is, we must for the time being remain in the ruble zone, the zone of Russian currency, end of quote. [passage omitted]

Government Adopts Resolution on Money Circulation

LD1205113593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] Uzbekistan's cabinet adopted a resolution on regulating money circulation and on enhancing the protection of the republic's consumer market. This step is directed against ruble intervention from both Kyrgyzstan and the Russian Federation. The authorities have already considerably toughened rules for exporting Russian goods from the republic. [sentence as received]

Law on Cabinet of Ministers Introduced

LD1305165093 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1305 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] The law on the Cabinet of Ministers—the government of the republic—comes into force in Uzbekistan from today. The chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers is the president of Uzbekistan. He appoints and dismisses the prime minister, his deputies, and the members of the cabinet for the subsequent approval of the Oli Mazhlis—the supreme legislative body. By virtue of his office, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Karakalpakstan is a member of the cabinet. A presidium, comprising the premier and his deputies, functions as a standing body of the cabinet. The government is to render account for its work to the Oli Mazhlis. Members of the government have no right to be employed in other paid posts in enterprises or institutions or to engage in enterpreneural activities.

Armenia

Foreign Minister Requests UN Representative in Region

NC1305201693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 13 May 93

[Message from Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Armenia upholds the UN Security Council's demands as formulated in Resolution 822 and is ready to assume responsibility for all the actions relating to Armenia.

Regrettably, the Azerbaijani Government rejected the spirit of Resolution 822 by refusing to return to the negotiating process within the CSCE framework. In the absence of negotiations it will be impossible to forge an agreement that enables Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh to agree to the aforementioned demands of the Security Council.

By maintaining the blockade of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh and by intensifying the psychological war against Armenia and the Armenian people, Azerbaijan is refusing to accept the call made by the resolution to cease hostile actions.

Armenian also notes with regret that despite the demands made by the same resolution, Turkey is still refusing to allow the dispatch of humanitarian assistance to Armenia via its territory.

Proceeding from the above facts, you may consider it useful to appoint a special representative to this region who will be able to convey accurate information to the Secretary General on the fulfillment of all the provisions of Resolution 822 by the various sides.

Armenia is convinced that the regular reports to be prepared by the special representative of the UN would act as an effective lever for the establishment of a long-term cease-fire and for the negotiated settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

U.S. Seeks Information on Captured Servicemen

LD1405091993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0838 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan May 14 TASS—The embassy of the United States in Armenia has addressed an unusual request to the population of the republic. The U.S. Government, it says, will highly appreciate the help of Armenians, who had witnessed the downing by anti-aircraft forces of the former USSR of an American 4-engine C-130 aircraft, shot down near Leninakan on April 2, 1958, or had met the surviving members of the crew, who were able to bail out of the plane.

The American side is also interested in any possible information about the lot of American servicemen, captured or reported missing on the territory of the USSR after 1941. The Americans ask anybody possessing such information to call at the U.S. Embassy in Yerevan.

Parliament Ratifies Agreements With European, World Banks

NC1305132593 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet yesterday ratified the credit agreements the Armenian Government signed with the World Bank and the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development [EBRD].

According to the agreement signed between the World Bank and the Armenian Government, Armenia will be given $12 million in credits. This sum will be used to strengthen and consolidate the (?customs) and taxation departments, the social sector, and job placement services. Armen Darbinyan, deputy economy minister, said that the credit will be repaid over 17 years, with the first repayment in four years with a 7.43 percent interest rate.

The Armenian Government is planning to use the $57.4 million to be allocated by EBRD for the construction of the fifth unit at the Razdan thermal power plant. The construction will be completed within 16-18 months.

Let us note that while accepting the need to borrow money from abroad, concern was expressed in the parliament on the absence of specialized controlling mechanisms to oversee the productive use of these credits. Only in the presence of such structures it will be possible to evade the fate of those countries which, having failed to repay their debts on time, have fallen into economic and political dependency on powerful states.

The parliament (?stressed) that the basic economic problem facing the Republic is the introduction of structural changes which are impossible to realize without serious financial investment. Such investments are expected in the future. They will be primarily used in the agricultural sector and in the restoration of the earthquake zone.

Border Shelling, 14 May Meeting With Nakhichevan Reported

NC1305160093 Yerevan SNARK in English 0957 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Yerevan, May 13 (SNARK)—Despite the existing relative quietness at the border the tension still exists. The Armenian Department of Defense has informed of the Azerbaijani forces accumulation at the border with Yekhegnadzorskiy region of Armenia. Yesterday on May 12, the Berkaber village, Idzhevanskiy region of Armenia, was shelled from the territory of Kazakhskiy region of Azerbaijan. As the result of the shelling a woman was wounded. The positions of the Armenian frontier forces at the Verin-Chambarack village, Krasnoselskiy region, were also shelled. Meanwhile tomorrow on May 14 there is expected the meeting between the Armenian and Nakhichevani representatives at the Yeraskh settlement.

Azerbaijan Said Accumulating Forces at Karabakh Border

NC1305155593 Yerevan SNARK in English 0957 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Stepanakert, 13 May (SNARK)—The Karabakh department of press and information has informed SNARK news agency of the forces accumulation at the border of Karabakh, in Fizulinskiy and Kubatlinskiy regions of Azerbaijan. The Karabakh department of press and information is of the opinion that Azerbaijan is preparing for the aggressive actions against Karabakh, that is the reason for the existing relative quietness at the border.

Azerbaijani-Karabakh Hostage Exchange Reported

NC1305155693 Yerevan SNARK in English 1357 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Stepanakert, 13 May (SNARK)—The Karabakh state department of press and information has informed SNARK news agency of the fact that today morning the Azerbaijani and Karabakh sides are meeting to exchange hostages. The Karabakh side is represented by the Karabakh State Commission on Hostages and War Prisoners. It is expected that the meeting will take place at the border between Martuninskiy region of Karabakh and Fizulinskiy region of Azerbaijan. The Karabakh side will transfer women and children to the representatives of the Azerbaijani side.

Azerbaijan

Defense Ministry Rejects Grachev Charges on Arms Supplies

LD1205112893 Baku AZERBAIJAN NEWS AGENCY in Russian 0900 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] Baku, 12 May—The republic's Defense Ministry has categorically rejected the groundless accusation by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev of "alleged arms supplies to Azerbaijan by neighboring states". He made the accusation during an official visit to Turkey.

A statement by the Azerbaijan Defense Ministry circulated this evening through AZERTAC channels stresses that "General Grachev's accusation is not only dangerous, but also runs counter to the initiatives of Russia, the United States, and Turkey for a peaceful settlement to the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict." The document notes, in particular, that it is far from by chance that such accusations have appeared.

In the opinion of military experts, "the accusations are in unison with statements by the Armenian military on alleged aggression by Azerbaijan, a tenth of whose territory is currently occupied by them."

On the other hand, the republic's Defense Ministry believes that, by such an accusation, Grachev is trying to distract world attention from the fact of involvement by Russian troops in combat operations on the side of Armenia, which—as is well known—are being conducted exclusively on Azerbaijani soil. In this regard, the Defense Ministry recalls that six servicemen from a Spetsnaz unit of the Russian Army recently appeared before a military tribunal in Baku, having been previously arrested in Azerbaijan's Kelbadzhar Rayon while engaged in sabotage.

The statement also expresses bewilderment over the appearance of Russian-made military aircraft in the Armenian Armed Forces, which do not have their own air force. The document stresses that these war planes have taken the most active part in the latest battles for Kelbadzhar and Lachin Rayons in the southwest of Azerbaijan, which are now occupied.

Regarding the armaments of the National Army—which is being developed within the framework of international obligations—they were all received under a treaty between Azerbaijan and Russia during the division of property of the Armed Forces of the former USSR, the Defense Ministry statement notes in particular. It says that military inspectors of the CSCE who have visited Azerbaijan have been convinced of this on several occasions.

Russian Division's Transfer Termed 'Violation'

NC1305155093 Baku TURAN in English 1019 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Baku, 13 May (TURAN)—Tonight the subdivisions of 104 Russian Air-Landing Division, dislocated in Gyandzha were suddenly transferred to the north of Azerbaijan to Gebele. Near this town located strategically important object—the largest radio—locating station seeing the starting of the ballistic missiles. [as received] According to the preliminary information, the landing troops are transferred to the territory of this Russian Ministry of Defence object.

According to the intergovernmental agreement, 104 Division is to be transferred from Azerbaijan by September of this year. Its transformation was started in early April and went on according to schedule. The agreement didn't provide for keeping some subdivisions of the division on Azerbaijan territory.

Such actions of Russian military administration are direct violation of sovereignty and rude pressure on Azerbaijan. The authorities haven't expressed their official reaction on happening yet.

State Adviser on Hopes for 14 May Talks

LD1305194093 Baku AZERTAC in Russian 1757 GMT 13 May 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent V.Ya.Rustamov]

[Text] Baku, 13 May (AZERTAC)—Azerbaijan hopes that a way of settling the Armenian-Azeri conflict will be found at the trilateral meeting between representatives from Russia, the United States, and Turkey which is opening in Moscow tomorrow, said Vafa Guluzade, a republican state adviser on foreign policy. In an exclusive interview with an AZERTAC correspondent which has been circulated today by the Azerbaijani telegraph agency, he particularly emphasized that "official circles in Baku support the efforts of the countries acting as mediators to find a peaceful way of settling this complex problem within the CSCE framework."

The main obstacle which must be removed by all of the interested parties so that the talks process on Nagorno-Karabakh can be resumed is the ongoing occupation of Kelbadzharskiy rayon in the southwest of Azerbaijan. Vafa Guluzade believes that only the immediate withdrawal of Armenian forces from this area in accordance with the well-known resolution of the UN Security Council "will allow the peacemakers to decide on their future actions."

Unfortunately, the state adviser said, "the resolution of many issues is dependent on the stand adopted by Armenia." He evaluated this stand as "not a constructive one." In his view, this is demonstrated by the fact that "the neighboring republic is refusing to sign the package of peace initiatives already put forward by participants in the trilateral meeting, and at the same time, they do not state plainly that they refuse to carry out the resolutions of the world community because they realize that this could go against them and lead to serious international sanctions."

Gasymov Comments on Turkish-Russian Talks

NC1405113693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov has commented on the talks between the Turkish and Russian defense ministers in Ankara. He said: We hope that their talks will have an impact on the situation in the disputed areas between Azerbaijan and Armenia, because direct intervention by Turkey and Russia in the situation cannot be considered.

In a statement to a KHABER SERVICE correspondent, Gasymov pointed out the opportunity the Turkish and Russian foreign ministers have to draw up recommendations for peacefully settling the dispute.

Kerimov Meets With Turkish Ambassador

NC1405114693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] State Secretary Ali Kerimov received Turkish Ambassador to Azerbaijan Altan Karamanoglu today. Karamanoglu congratulated Kerimov on his appointment as state secretary, which is a high-ranking post. He also wished him success and said that he is confident that cooperation between Azerbaijan and Turkey, which are fraternal countries, will improve.

Kerimov thanked Karamanoglu and informed him that the Azerbaijani people, who are waging a struggle to defend their country's independence and territorial integrity, greatly appreciate the aid and support of friendly countries, particularly Turkey.

The two officials also discussed prospects for bilateral relations during their friendly meeting.

Supreme Soviet Head Comments on U.S. Visit

NC1405112693 Baku TURAN in English 0936 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Baku May 14 (TURAN)—The day before the press-conference of the Speaker of the Azerbaijan Parliament Isa Kamberov on the results of his visit to the USA took place.

To the speaker's opinion, his meetings and consultations in the USA will promote the economic and political rapprochement of Azerbaijan and the USA. Isa Kamberov pointed out, that the economic cooperation will not be restricted in the oil output only. As an example, he noticed the trade contract between the two countries on the delivery of the Azeri black caviar to the USA, nearly ready to sign.

Touching upon the political aspects of the relations with the USA, the speaker pointed out, that the positive changes in the USAs attitude toward Azerbaijan has been projected lately. And Azeri delegation felt this changes during the visit. The Resolution 822 SC UNO [United Nations Security Council], trilateral initiative on the adjustment of the Armenian-Azeri conflict, the other political and diplomatic efforts-all these are the results of the new political reality.

President Issues Decree on Handling POW's

NC1305161493 Baku TURAN in English 1119 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Baku, May 13 (TURAN)—The president of Azerbaijan issued a decree according to which all Armenian prisoners of the war, captured in the battle actions would be passed to the special state commission.

At present all these prisoners of the war and also hostages are kept in the prison of the MIA [Ministry of Internal Affairs], in the military units and in the houses of the people.

According to the decree, all prisoners during 10 day will be kept in specially arranged prison. The Ministry of Defence, MIA and MNS [Ministry of National Security] of the Republic are responsible for that.

Iranian Governor Visits Nakhichevan

NC1305175293 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Azeri 1230 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] In his talks with Geydar Aliyev, president of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic [NAR], the governor of Iran's Western Azerbaijan Province, who is on a visit to the NAR, agreed that relations between the two Muslim peoples should be improved. Referring to their goodneighborly relations, he added: The talks between NAR's officials and people and their counterparts in the Islamic Republic of Iran contribute toward improving friendly relations.

The officials of Western Azerbaijan and the NAR held their first meeting on economic and cultural matters yesterday afternoon. A document will be signed by the two sides on the outcome of their talks.

The governor and his delegation visited the construction site of a mosque in Sharurskiy Rayon. The mosque is being built by Iran in accordance with the wishes of the rayon's people. NAR has a 135-km-long border with Iran and [words indistinct].

Azerbaijani-Iranian Cooperation Council Dissolved

NC1405111893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] The Council of Ministers Press Center has informed our correspondent that the Azerbaijani-Iranian Cooperation Council has been dissolved in light of the establishment of the [word indistinct] committee in accordance with the president's decree on improving multifaceted economic, trade, and human relations between Azerbaijan and Iran.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Previews Meeting With Yeltsin

LD1305181993 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Now, we offer you an excerpt from the speech by Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, at today's session of the Georgian parliament:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] What should we expect from this meeting [with Russian President Yeltsin]? To tell you the truth, I do not want any exaggerated expectations because relations between Russia and Georgia are in rather a complicated state. Times are hard right now. We have to live in hard times, the whole state has to. You know the troubles connected with the conflict, incidents related to the presence of military units here, lots of other things which complicate relations between the two countries.

At the same time, I do not think there is anyone of sound mind who does not consider that Russian-Georgian relations should be settled, rather that we should cooperate and be friends. There is no other way out. I think that Russian President Yeltsin is making preparations for the meeting with a similar disposition, but this meeting has not been well prepared beforehand so we cannot expect any great outcome from it. The best that may happen is that relations between Russia and Georgia can become warmer. I personally envision the task in this way: Normal conditions should be created for putting in order bilateral relations between our two countries and in a situation of mutual understanding between Russia and Georgia. I am sure a better, far better background will be established for the settlement of the Abkhazian conflict and for the final solution of the Samachablo [South Ossetia] problem. I do not want to say anything more. There may be specific resolutions. We may go further. Or we may fail to accomplish even this. Therefore, let us look at it like this: This is a working visit. It is not an official visit. We will not sign any big documents, but if we manage to agree, say, a time when a big treaty can be signed, discuss the issue of the withdrawal of Russian troops, determine their status, schedules, and other things, if there is a better understanding of the issues of the Abkhazian conflict, it will be a step forward. [end recording]

More Comment on Meeting, Abkhazia

LD1005132093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0500 GMT 10 May 93

[Interview with Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze by unidentified correspondent in Tbilisi—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] Good morning, friends. Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the Georgian state and chairman of the republic's parliament, is speaking to you.

Mr. Shevardnadze, Sukhumi was bombed nearly every day last week. The leader of the UN delegation issued a statement of protest, and I am stressing this fact because UN representatives usually refrain from making such overt statements. The experts forecast a further deterioration of the situation. You will be meeting President Yeltsin under these circumstances. Do you think that this meeting will have a concrete and real result in connection with the events in Abkhazian events?

[Shevardnadze] Good morning. Thank you. First of all, about the importance of this meeting: You know that the issue of our meeting has been developed for a long time, and it may be over-developed today. Probably, this was necessary, and I think that the meeting will be of serious importance.

I do not want to conjure up unnecessary illusions in this respect, but when we are talking about separate problems—such as resolving the Abkhazian conflict, the situation that came about in Samachablo, the economic state of the country, and so on—we must take into consideration the fact that the key to many of these problems lies in Georgian-Russian relations, I mean mutually beneficial, good neighborly relations between the two countries—completely new relations.

I think this meeting will herald these relations. In my telephone conversation with the president, I stressed exactly this—that we must start building new relations afresh. As for tackling the Abkhazian conflict in the light of Russian-Georgian negotiations, I would say that if we are still talking about the key to resolving the conflict, it lies on the one hand in the Georgian-Abkhazian dialogue, and on the other hand in the Russian-Georgian relations. Even Russia's neutral stance means a lot, let alone its active and positive role in carrying out the demands about which our parliament unequivocally expressed its attitude.

This meeting cannot be viewed in isolation when we are talking about resolving the Abkhazian conflict. We must consider the UN's active participation. It has already issued a statement from the hot spot on the Ukrainian and European structures'—especially Ukraine's—readiness to participate actively as a mediator. These are the impulses that have been palpable. When the moment is right, we will, of course, ask the Ukrainian authorities for help to find interesting ways to cooperate.

I would like to mention a new idea with respect to resolving the conflict. It is cooperation between the peoples of the Caucasus. I mean our dialogue with Armenia and Azerbaijan. I have mentioned it many times. The role and responsibility of these two countries in settling the conflict have become more distinct since the meeting in Istanbul.

This is the whole system of issues that is connected with resolving the Abkhazian problem. I will reiterate, however, that the most important factor is Russian-Georgian relations. We will see what the results of this meeting will be.

[Correspondent] You will be arriving in Moscow in a rather complex situation. As you know, it was feared that the outcome of the demonstration dedicated to 9 May could have been serious. The pro-communist forces were feared to retaliate yesterday. Luckily, everything ended peacefully. This does not mean, however, that the situation in Russia is less tense at the moment and that it will be alleviated. Experts say that the country is still facing the danger of a civil war.

[Shevardnadze] I think that regardless of what the outcome of yesterday's demonstration could have been, one thing is clear—the Russian president has reinforced his position because of the referendum. Our assumptions and hopes were not groundless. The forecast that was made in Georgia proved to be right. In my telephone conversation with Yeltsin, I could feel his confidence in his own power and more hope that Russia would develop in a democratic way. This is a helpful event and is important for us—and not only for us.

As for the demonstration, it did not work out quite as the enemies of democracy and reforms in Russia—in Russia and also on the territory of the former Soviet Union—hoped it would. So yesterday can also be considered the president's victory. Now, is there danger of civil war? The danger still remains, but now Yeltsin has far more reserves, resources, and ways to avoid this danger.

From this point of view, the Russian-Georgian negotiations on resolving the Abkhazian conflict will play their role in reinforcing the position of the Russian democratic forces.

[Correspondent] Last week, following your orders, the Council of National Defense stopped functioning before relevant regulations were worked out. This step meant releasing Jaba Ioseliani from his duties as deputy chairman of the Council. General Georgiy Karkarashvili was appointed defense minister. At the parliamentary session on 6 May, you stressed there would be no coup in Georgia, that people would not support it, and if anybody was dreaming of it, he would be left alone. You had to make such statements several times. How can you assure people so confidently? Is it the signs of stabilization in the country, the people's attitude, or the good service of law-enforcement bodies?

[Shevardnadze] You have just given the main causes, but the most important thing is the people's disposition. People are tired, the country is tired, and nobody wants to talk about new coups and new cataclysms. Enough is enough. I think a major part of the population trusts the authorities—I mean the parliament and other structures of authority. Under these circumstances, if anybody is trying to accumulate some forces and attempts to attack the authorities—attempting a coup, so to speak—I think that the people will obliterate these forces.

I know there are some people who are thinking about and talking about a coup, and I think that a fear of being trampled should stop them. These forces should know that they will not gain anything from the attempt, in their own personal interests or in the interests of state. The people will—I repeat myself—obliterate them. I am sure of it. That is why I am so confident in saying this.

[Correspondent] Mr. Shevardnadze, should we expect changes in personnel?

[Shevardnadze] It all hinges on how well we work—starting with the head of state and ending with officials. We must all perform our duties; unfortunately, this is not the case. The interests of the state and people come first on the list of our priorities. If somebody fails to meet these requirements, then changes are to be expected.

[Correspondent] When I asked you about the people's attitude, I meant the great popular support from the famous scientists and professors of the university. We had many phone calls from the Research Institute of Manuscripts, from callers who also expressed their support of your policy. The reason why I am remembering this is that the famous address in IBERIA SPEKTRI coincided with the reporting of Abkhazian events on Russian television. After that program, during the discussion, some participants did not seem to quite like you. It is interesting, to say the least, that the Russian chauvinists' point of view regarding Abkhazia and Shevardnadze coincides with the point of view of those people who signed the letter [in IBERIA SPEKTRI].

[Shevardnadze] If you paid attention, I said at the parliament session that public opinion in Georgia can be measured by the university. I could not hide my alarm over the letter that was published in one of the newspapers, thinking that if it was the point of view of the university personnel, then what was the point of my staying in my office.

I am not arguing with anybody now. I do not like to hold endless arguments with my opponents, although we must discuss the ways of political battle, what we can and cannot do, and what is justifiable and what is not. I would like to thank the university. I thank the bulk of this huge institution—which is a conscience of Georgia—for its support. I am not sure whether I will be able to live up to their expectations, their hopes. I must assure them that I will exert myself. My strength, energy, knowledge, experience, and life will not be spared. So I would like to thank the university.

[Correspondent] You were in Bolnisi yesterday. Information was released that you visited because of the complex situation there.

[Shevardnadze] True, my visit to Bolnisi yesterday was caused by an extremely volatile situation, at least, as it was yesterday. The opposition between the native population and the new settlers is rather strong. The situation that has arisen there has not happened overnight, however. Unfortunately, the problems have been accumulating there over the last two or three years. I must say, the local authorities there will be responsible for everything. I cannot blame the native population there, who have lived there for hundreds of years. Neither can I blame the new settlers. They both have their unsolvable problems, aches, unemployment, and land distribution problems. However, the greatest tragedy for the people is idleness. We cannot put the highway in proper working order there because the highway has been left without anybody's attention. It was blocked by the armed groups. They created their own formations, which regulated the traffic there. You know very well what it means.

Now that we have started to establish control over the highway, many people have lost their source of income; therefore, we have a tense atmosphere. The day before yesterday, [Georgian Prime Minister] Tengiz Sigua was there, and yesterday my colleagues and I went to Bolnisi. The mayor of Tbilisi and all heads and deputies of law-enforcement bodies were with me. We had a very serious conversation there. I was convinced of the generosity and sincere desire of both the native population and the new settlers to overcome the problems as soon as possible.

I will make a decision today to create a governmental commission for resolving all pressing problems which trigger off tension. I am sure today or tomorrow such commission will be established and work toward resolving these problems.

[Correspondent] So you have....

[Shevardnadze, interrupting] I am sorry to interrupt you. An excellent youth fell victim to a criminal's bullet the day before yesterday, and I would like to express to his family my condolences over their bereavement. I am sorry I could not go to their place in person because it was already too late at night. The young man used to fight in Abkhazia and carried out state duties. It is such a shame he is no longer among us.

[Correspondent] Mr. Shevardnadze, you have mentioned the situation on the highways, and it is impossible to talk about the economic revival—say, the importance of Poti—if there is no order on the highways. The bodies of the Interior Ministry are working hard toward this end. Unfortunately, our highways are not guarded properly.

[Shevardnadze] They are not guarded, forget properly. I must say, though, that we managed to form the traffic police—comprising about 1,500 people—within a very short period of time. You probably listened to their report last night. Mr. Irakli Mkheidze, the head of the regiment, spoke last night. We are starting to work toward restoring order on the highways. This must become one of the most important sources of income.

At the moment, the money that is coming in is very little. Unfortunately, huge sums are being squandered—millions and billions. Money is not coming into the state fund. We must put an end to it. The first steps have already been taken. The Tbilisi- Dmanisi highway has been taken under control already. I hope that order will be restored there from today onward. Also, the Tbilisi-Tsiteli Khidi and Tbilisi-Sukhumi highways will be guarded.

Some of our activists have reacted now that there are traffic police there. I must say, however, that it was done solely in the interests of establishing order on the highways. The traffic police are in Senaki and Khobi now. In the end, we will advance to Gali, Ochamchire, Zugdidi, and little by little to Sukhumi. We must think of restoring complete order on the Tbilisi-Batumi highway. This—I reiterate—is of state importance, and we must achieve the goals set before us.

[Correspondent] Last week, one of the most important events took place in Tbilisi. A branch of the Deutschebank was opened in Georgia. This probably is an important event, and it means that Europe can see that the authorities of the country have control over the situation and that the first signs of stabilization are showing.

[Shevardnadze] Deutsche Bank has emerged. There are also other views toward getting additional credits. Ten billion ECU's have been earmarked by the EEC as further aid. You know that states and organizations do not normally give a helping hand to a hopeless country. These are good signs. I said at the Deutschebank presentation ceremony that one swallow cannot make a spring, but it can herald the beginning of the spring.

Many other events will also take place if we keep together. I am going back to the issue of unity. Many problems will be tackled, and our friends will have the possibility to render more help to us and to support us in this difficult fight for independence.

I would like to say that Germany is such a strong country that it is doing a lot. I pin high hopes on the forthcoming visit to Germany. We will probably talk about it in more detail in our future programs.

[Correspondent] Mr. Shevardnadze, you have mentioned aid from foreign countries. One of the countries that has rendered help to Georgia on many occasions is Turkey. The situation in Turkey, regarding who will come to power, is still not clear. They say that the prime minister of the country, Suleyman Demirel, has the most chances. The reason why I am going back to the Turkish issue is that you said at one of the meetings that the Turkish and Ukrainian factor must become stronger in the region; hence, the political processes under way in this country are of relevant interest to us.

[Shevardnadze] I have expressed my points of view about the importance of the Ukrainian factor, and I will reiterate that Ukraine will be playing a growing role, not only in this region but in Europe and the whole world. I have also said that Turkey was the country that had to play a larger role in Europe and the whole world in fighting for peace and a new order. As for the presidential elections, this remains an internal issue of the Turkish Government and people, but I must express my own point of view that I think Mr. Demirel is one of the [passage indistinct].

Russian Forces Say Shevardnadze Accusations 'Groundless'

NC1305153493 Yerevan SNARK in English 0957 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 13 May (SNARK)—Press-center of the group of Russian military forces in Transcaucasia has spread the declaration where calls the accusations of Eduard Shevardnadze as groundless. Speaking to the Georgian radio on May 11, Eduard Shevardnadze said that the incident which took place in Kutaisi had been provocated to torpedo the meeting of Shevardnadze with Boris Yeltsin. Shevardnadze is of the opinion that some circles in Russia are against the meeting.

The declaration says that the Shevardnadze's words are the attempt to get rid of the responsibility for the events taken place in Kutaisi. The fact of hostages capturing doesn't correspond to reality.

Attacks on Russian Targets Attempt To Thwart Summit

MK1405100493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 May 93 p 1

[Guga Lolishvili report: "Russian, Georgian Leaders Meet in Moscow. Someone Is Once Again Trying To Hinder Thaw in Russian-Georgian Relations"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Kutaisi Mayor Temuri Shashiashvili has presented his own interpretation of the 11 May events. He said that a group of 12 people (spokesmen for the Russian troops claim there were 70 people) sneaked onto the territory of a military unit to inspect it, because the unit, according to Shashiashvili, is scheduled to be transferred to the Georgian Defense Ministry in the near future. The Kutaisi mayor claimed that Russian servicemen, without warning, opened fire with intent to kill, after which doctors who wanted to give medical aid were for some time denied access to the wounded. One of the participants in the clash detained by Russian servicemen said that the 754th Field Engineer Battalion has long been notorious in Kutaisi, because everyone knows about "the constant leak of weapons from its arsenals—anyone can come and buy arms here."

Be that as it may, we should admit the existence of an extremely disturbing trend: a dramatic increase in the number of terrorist acts against Russian troops in Georgia and an increase in the number of protests by Russian troops in Transcaucasia complaining about various kinds of harassment to which Russian servicemen are being subjected, which occur whenever Russian and Georgian politicians show a desire to discuss their problems in a calm atmosphere. If the latest Kutaisi incident occurred on the eve of a Russian-Georgian summit, the previous large-scale provocation happened before the fourth (Tbilisi) round of Russian-Georgian talks. The murder of two Russian soldiers on the outskirts of Tbilisi, which was perpetrated with literally a few hours to go before the two delegations were scheduled to meet, nearly scuttled a regular round of the talks. Thus, it has become evident that forces opposing the improvement of Russian-Georgian relations do exist. In these circumstances, the Georgian government is trying to bring order to the situation and take it under control. "The law enforcement agencies have received the appropriate directives from the government," Tengiz Sigua said on 12 May, reassuringly.

Russian Units To 'Resolutely Rebuff' Attacks

LD1305190093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1824 GMT 13 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi May 13 TASS—"We are not going to put up with attacks on our units and shall resolutely rebuff such attacks," Major-General Vasiliy Belchenko, aide of the commander of the Russian troops in the Caucasus for affairs of the personnel, told ITAR-TASS on Thursday [13 May].

This statement was made in the wake of an attack by the "Mkhedrioni" detachment on a field-engineering battalion of the Russian Army stationed in the city of Kutaisi in the west of Georgia, in which hostages were taken. The Russian side retaliated, releasing seven women and a child, and the assaulters were driven away from the territory of the military unit suffering heavy losses in manpower and military hardware.

Belchenko reminded of the fact that Russian commanders twice held news conferences and appealed to the Georgian leadership and directly to Eduard Shevarnadze 17 times following similar attacks by Georgian armed formations on Russian military units on the territory of the republic, but no measures were taken in response. Belchenko believes that in such a situation the Russian Army has used up all means of peaceful settlement of similar incidents and has the right to cut short any attacks and attempts to seize its military property by all means available.

Belchenko pointed out that the Russian Army had submitted a list of its 43 military facilities with their property and equipment, which for unknown reasons the Georgian side refuses to take over. Incidentally, the battalion in Kutaisi was to be taken over with all its engineering equipment in the next few days. Proceeding from this fact, the Russian command regards the inactivity of chiefs of departments concerned and Georgian leaders as a factor promoting provocative activities of different armed formations against the Russian Army.

Kutaisi May 13—The prosecutor general of the city of Kutaisi, Tengiz Dzhakeli, and Mayor General Aleksandr Naumov, commander of the Russian unit stationed there, have categorically denied hostage taking by "Mkhedrioni" soldiers on May 11.

Reports coming from the region say that 7 Mkhedrioni soldiers were killed, three wounded and taken to hospital. The remaining nine soldiers are in custody at the second police department in Kutaisi. A joint investigation into the incident has begun. A Georgian Government commission, led by Vice-Prime Minister Zurab Kervalishvili, and Fedor Reut, commander of Russian troops in the Caucasus, arrived in Kutaisi to take part in the investigation.

Sukhumi Subjected to Overnight Bombardment

LD1305082193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Zviad Mirgadze, a representative of the press center of the Georgian Armed Forces, will be talking to us from Sukhumi. Good morning, Zviad. The transmission is on air. Please could you tell our radio listeners what happened last night and what is the situation like on the frontline this morning?

[Mirgadze] At 1905, the enemy bombed Sukhumi again using Grad installations. More than 40 shells exploded in different districts of Sukhumi, as a result of which three people were killed and eight wounded, all civilians. About 20 residential houses were destroyed or seriously damaged.

The Georgian Armed Forces retaliated, as a result of which the enemy's attack became less intense. The enemy became extremely active again by 2000 all along the Gumista River frontline using hardware [not further indentified], grenade launchers and mortars.

The positional battles lasted until about 0100. Georgian Armed Forces managed to eliminate the enemy's firing points one after another. After this, there was a relative lull on the Gumista River and sporadic shots from automatic guns were heard all through the night from the enemy side, which was trying to provoke more shelling but the Georgian soldiers ignored them.

As for Ochamchire rayon, yesterday was relatively quiet, no active military actions took place.

Government of Abkhazia Bans Opposition Activity

NC1305150093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1307 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Sukhumi, May 13 (SNARK)—Yesterday, on May 12, Tamaz Nadareishvili, head of the Abkhazian government, signed the decree on stopping the activity of the those organizations which are discrediting their government on the territory which is under the control of the Georgian forces. It is prohibited to undertake meetings and strikes. There will be established full control over the audio equipment, reprinting equipment, radio and TV devices.

The cabinet of the Abkhazian government was transferred from Sukhumi to Gulripshskiy region because of the firings and shellings.

Abkhaz Defense Council Denies Authority of State

LD1305161293 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1501 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Today, the Defense Council and the Council of Ministers of the autonomous republic of Abkhazia sent an official statement to the embassy of the Russian Federation in Georgia. The statement says that in connection with the recent Russo-Abkhazian consultations on the issues of settling the armed conflict in Abkhazia, which took place in the town of Maykop, the Defense Council and the Council of Ministers of the autonomous republic of Abkhazia consider it essential to state that the only legal bodies operating on the territory of the autonomous republic are the Defense Council and the Council of Ministers of the autonomous republic of Abkhazia.

The members of these bodies are Georgian, Abkhazian, Russian, Armenian, and Ukrainian or belong to other nationalities that make up the majority of the population of the autonomous republic.

A war is going on in Abkhazia today between the Georgians and Abkhazians. The conflict between the separatists and the supporters of Georgia's territorial integrity is clearly political in character, the statement says. On the basis of this, it is worth clearly defining the sides involved in the conflict in Abkhazia—the separatist tendency that is the Gudauta side and the Abkhazian side, in the form of the Defense Council, and the Council of Ministers, who stand for the territorial integrity of the sovereign Georgian state.

Abkhazian Leader Urges Cease-Fire, Troop Withdrawal

LD1305202193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 13 May 93

[Report by correspondent K. Bzhania; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] On the eve of the meeting between Boris Yeltsin and Eduard Shevardnadze, Vladislav Ardzinba met foreign correspondents. Asked about Abkhazia's concrete proposals to surmount the crisis, Ardzinba replied that his government was proposing a cease-fire and that the warring troops should be drawn off the front line on the Gumista. Afterwards the armed formations brought in by the sides after 14 August 1992 should be withdrawn from Abkhazia. In the opinion of Abkhazia's leader, all this will take seven to 10 days providing on Georgian good will. At the end of the meeting, either by accident or intentionally, Vladislav Ardzinba proposed that the television should organize a direct dialogue with Eduard Shevardnadze. According to Ardzinba, it will clarify the evolved situation in many respects.

Artillery Shells Abkhazian Positions 13 May

LD1405112093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1108 GMT 14 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchogoleva]

[Text] Sochi May 14 TASS—The Georgian artillery shelled Abkhazian positions on the left flank of the Gumista front and the town of Verkhnyaya Esheri on Thursday [13 May]. Later in the day it opened mortar fire at the populated localities of Shitskvara and Gvandra, ITAR-TASS was told at the Abkhazian refugees' headquarters in Sochi with reference to the press service of the Abkhazian Defence Ministry. The same source informed it that Georgian artillery yesterday opened up on the villages of Labra, Merkula and Atara in Ochamchira district, causing destructions.

The press service of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet has released a statement of the republic's defence minister in connection with Georgian General Nadareishvili's threats made on Thursday during a meeting with journalists. The statement notes that the armed forces of Abkhazia are fully resolved to uphold the freedom and independence of their republic and that such pronouncements by representatives of the Georgian command may dash all hopes for an early end to the war.

ITAR-TASS was told at the Abkhazian refugee headquarters that it had received information from sources close to the Sukhumi leadership that the Georgian military command in Abkhazia, headed by General Tomaz Nadareishvili, had moved out of Sukhumi to a safer place in the town of Dranda, Gulripshi district, which is located twenty kilometres to the east of Sukhumi.

No Injuries Reported at Seismic Lab Shelling

LD1305124993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 13 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Georgian troops have again shelled the seismic laboratory in Nizhniye Esheri. According to a report from the Russian Defense Ministry Press Center, our assault troops were forced to return fire. No soldiers on the Russian side were injured.

'Zviadist' Leader Tries To Mediate Peace With Abkhazia

MK1205132293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 May 93 p 3

[Tengiz Pachkoriya report: "Loti Kobaliya in Search of Peace. Commander of 'Zviadist' Armed Detachments Visits Gudauta"]

[Excerpts] At the end of last week, Russian media circulated a report saying that talks were held on 6 May between Colonel Sultan Soslanaliyev, acting defense minister of Abkhazia, and Colonel Loti Kobaliya, commander of Zviad Gamsakhurdia's armed formations.

INTERFAX, citing sources close to Abkhazia's Defense Ministry, reported that measures were worked out at these talks to stop the war in Abkhazia. The sources bringing this information to INTERFAX did not name this meeting's venue. According to what NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has learned from reliable sources and from a number of other news services, this meeting took place in Gudauta on 6 May.

To find out details of the talks, I contacted Loti Kobaliya by phone the evening of 8 May and talked with him. He confirmed that he did meet representatives of the Abkhaz side on 6 May. According to him, both sides were represented by military men (the Georgian side was represented by members of the Military Council of the

Command of Armed Formations, and by some of Gamsakhurdia's supporters). Kobaliya noted that both sides at the talks spoke for the cessation of the standoff in Abkhazia, for stopping the shooting and the military actions. He said that an understanding had been reached during the talks to set up a special Abkhazian-Georgian commission that would hammer out a specific mechanism and procedure for bringing back Abkhazian and Georgian civilians into both Tkvarcheli-Ochamchir and other rayons in Abkhazia. [passage omitted]

As for reaction by officials in Tbilisi, no statement regarding this was received from Tbilisi leaders until 11 May. On 10 May, Tamaz Nadareishvili, chairman of the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia functioning in Sukhumi, and Yuriy Keshelava, a member of the council, told journalists their opinions. They said that "no one informed them about the essence and results of the above talks, and the Defense Council did not ask Kobaliya to conduct talks with Gudauta." Nadareishvili declared that on the territory of Abkhazia controlled by the Georgian side, the only instructions that are to be followed are those issued by the autonomous republic's Defense Council, which confirms "the readiness to conduct direct talks with representatives of the Gudauta leadership, but without Vladislav Ardzinba's participation and without mediators."

The talks in Gudauta are not the first attempt by Kobaliya to appear as mediator in the conflict in Abkhazia. He made one of his first attempts last November together with parliamentarians from Chechnya. There has always been a mixed attitude in Georgian political quarters to Loti Kobaliya's and his comrades' desire to appear as mediators in settling the conflict. Kobaliya is believed to have a political ax to grind—indeed, should this peacemaking mission succeed, the prestige of Gamsakhurdia supporters could rise in Georgia.

Iranian Foreign Minister's Visit Seen as Significant

LD1205215693 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1429 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] On 12 May, Foreign Minister Aleksandre Chikvaidze met Fereydun Haqbin, the Iranian charge d'affaires in Georgia. At the meeting, issues concerning the forthcoming visit of Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati to Georgia were discussed. The visit is scheduled for 18-20 May. The visit has great significance for the revival of stability and peace in the Transcaucasian region as well as for the good-neighborly relations between Iran and Georgia on the basis of those agreements, which were signed in Iran in January during a visit by a Georgian delegation.

Shevardnadze Calls For Local Self-Government Law

LD1305181893 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1501 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze, during a speech at a session of the Georgian parliament, called upon parliamentarians to adopt the law on local self-government in the shortest time possible in order to hold elections for local government bodies as soon as possible. "I attach particular significance to the adoption of the law on administration as it establishes guarantees regarding the territorial integrity of our republic. While the situation in Georgia remains unstable during the transitional period, we need well-organized local administration," Eduard Shevardnadze stated.

Estonia

Council of Europe Approves Full Membership

LD1305164993 Tallinn Radio Estonia in English 1520 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Estonia was admitted as full member to the Council of Europe after today's voting in the Council's Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg. The Parliamentary Assembly rejected Russia's objections that Estonia's membership was premature. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev had written to the Council alleging non-Estonian residents were being discriminated against in Estonia.

In the voting over accepting Estonia into the Council of Europe, two members of the Parliamentary Assembly were against and one abstained.

An amendment proposed by the political committee and voted into the document about accepting Estonia as a member said Estonian authorities should base their minority policies on the principles set forth in the additional protocol to the Council of Europe's human rights convention.

The Council's ministerial committee will ratify on Friday the Assembly's vote to admit Estonia, Lithuania, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, taking the number of members to 29.

Membership of the Council of Europe is an endorsement of a country's human rights record and a vital first step towards possible application to join the European Community.

A member of the Estonian delegation, parliament's [First] Deputy Speaker Tunne Kelam, in a brief interview with the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE said the amendment on human rights that had been voted into the document had been [word indistinct]. The amendment also caused an emotional [word indistinct] speech from French representative [name indistinct] who said Estonia has been a victim and in this case additional conditions are not needed, Kelam added.

The Parliamentary Assembly came to the conclusion that the amendment will be used for any future candidates to the European body.

A speech by the leader of the Russian delegation, Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, had been rather flexible, Kelam said. Ambartsumov didn't pronounce any sharp criticism against Estonia, he added. The leader of the Russian delegation said he welcomed Estonia joining the Council of Europe. In his words, Russia is not going to engage in an imperialistic policy. At the same time, Ambartsumov voiced concern about several problems connected with the ethnic Russians in Estonia, Kelam said.

Another member of the Russian delegation, (Yakimenko), said negative changes have taken place in Estonia's citizenship laws but speaking in general were in favor of Estonia, the deputy speaker of the Estonian parliament said. [sentence as heard]

The chairman of the nonmembers committee said Estonia has fulfilled all requirements for becoming a democratic society.

Premier Comments

LD1305160693 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] This morning the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly adopted a resolution to welcome Estonia as a member of the Council of Europe. Prime Minister Mart Laar expressed his views on this occasion. He said that the admission of Estonia as a full member of the Council of Europe is naturally a very remarkable event. He noted that once Estonia becomes recognized as a state on the international arena, admission into the Council of Europe will be the next major (?victory) for Estonian policy, the state, and the whole Estonian nation. Mart Laar added that the recognition which we have gained from the Council of Europe is very valuable to us.

He noted that fierce propaganda has been conducted against Estonia so as to prevent Estonia from becoming a member of the Council of Europe. Now, however, Estonia has won a victory in that war.

The prime minister voiced the hope that the victory in the propaganda war would put an end to the whole war, too, and that Estonian relations with Russia would in the future develop in a more [word indistinct] spirit.

Russians Able To Neutralize Baltics 'Within 2 Days'

WS1405084593 Tallinn BNS in English 1438 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Tallinn, May 13, BNS—Russian troops located in the Baltic countries can neutralize the Baltics' national armed forces and seize all the strategic spots within two days, intelligence officers of the Estonia's defense forces told the PAEVALEHT daily newspaper.

The Russian troops in the Baltics practiced recapturing the Baltics "on paper" during their staff and command maneuvers April 19-22.

The Latvian Defense Ministry reported earlier that a debriefing after the exercises concluded that it would be impossible to quickly neutralize the armed forces of the Baltics.

Not so, say Estonian intelligence officers in today's edition of PAEVALEHT.

Estonian military intelligence obtained a legend and a schedule of the maneuvers, which was also published in the newspaper. The legend reads as follows:

"Tensions in the political situation in Europe have grown in recent months. The leaders of the Baltic countries—in an hostile disposition towards Russia—are engaged in intensive talks on bringing NATO troops into their territories. Russian intelligence has got information about NATO being interested in strengthening its positions on the Baltic Sea coasts, and NATO troops may enter Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania within a few weeks.

"Russia cannot permit this, (because) its garrisons in the Baltics and Kronstadt would be blocked, the Baltic Navy closed into its bases, and Russia would lose a strategically important region.

"Negotiations between the Russian defense ministry and the Baltics give no positive results.

"In order to avoid losing the Baltic region, the Russian president gives the general staff an order to bring additional army troops into the Baltics, which have the task to prevent NATO troops from entering the countries. The general staff immediately gives the commander of the Northwestern Group of Armed Forces an order to take control over strategically important transport and communication facilities as well as other important targets of the Baltics. In case of resistance from the defense forces of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, these forces must be neutralized by using all kinds of weapons."

Russian army units in the Baltics during the maneuvers were brought to full combat readiness. In major units, the command and communication trucks were ready to start moving. The units of radio and electronic surveillance were working at full capacity.

Russian military officials at the end of the maneuvers pointed out the possibility of a large-scale guerrilla war breaking out, especially in Estonia, where the Defense Union militia has a large number of guns.

Most Favored Nation Trade Agreement With Russia Initialed

WS1405090293 Tallinn BNS in English 0805 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Tallinn, May 13, BNS—Estonia and Russia in the 11th round of bilateral talks that ended in the Lohusalu seaside resort near Tallinn today initialed an agreement on granting each other a most favored nation's status in trade. But the delegations failed to achieve any progress in the main issues—the withdrawal of the Russian troops and the border between the two countries.

Speaking about the most favored status accord, the head of the Estonian delegation Juri Luik called it a very important document that helps to abolish discriminatory tariffs imposed on a number of Estonian goods.

The signing of the agreement, however, in fact will invalidate a free trade treaty signed between the countries last year. The free trade treaty has failed to work mainly due to political reasons. Neither side at today's press conference was unable [as received] to say exactly when the most favored status agreement will be signed or when could a prime ministers meeting of the two countries take place.

"At the prime ministers meeting above all the main political issues will have to be resolved, but over these (issues) no particular success has been achieved so far," Luik said.

The head of the Russian delegation, Vasili Svirin, in an incisive tone criticized Estonia for raising the border issue. "The border issue is nearing the point of trouble. We wouldn't like it, but because of this also a revision of our positions on other issues is possible," he said. Svirin added that because of Estonia's objection discussion of a number of other important agreements on border issues has been left aside already for a longer period of time.

Luik, disagreeing with his Russian counterpart, said "in recent times a wish by the partners to tie one issue with another can be observed". "But there is still one problem that Russia cannot link to the other ones—the withdrawal of troops," he said.

Russia in the past round also presented its schedule for the first stage of the pullout of nuclear reactors from Paldiski. According to the scheme, Russia would finish taking out the reactor rods by mid-1994.

The delegations also exchanged copies of an agreement on non-commercial payments, already signed by the finance ministers, and reached the final stages in their work on a protection of investments accord.

The working parties for humanitarian issues focused on the problems of citizenship, over which both sides stuck to their earlier positions. Also discussed was an agreement on the returning of archives and items of cultural value.

The working parties for border issues dealt only with problems pertaining to a visa regime between the countries.

The following round of talks is scheduled to be held in Moscow on June 7-8.

Latvia

Foreign Ministry Protests Baltic Fleet Maneuvers

WS1405073293 Tallinn BNS in English 1907 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 13, BNS—The Latvian foreign ministry launched a protest note to the Russian embassy accusing the Baltic Fleet Command of curbing ship movements in the Latvian territory of the Baltic Sea.

The note follows the Russian military's decision May 7 to conduct military air strike exercises in Latvian waters. Russia wants to bar ships from the area May 14-15.

The Russian fleet's decision breaches the U.N. convention on navigation rights, said the ministry. It also goes against a Russian-Latvian agreement on navigation in Latvian waters.

In addition, says the ministry, the Baltic fleet officers violate an agreement providing that all military ship maneuvers should be coordinated with Latvian authorities.

Latvia calls on the Russian Fleet command to cancel its activities as well as avoid similar deeds in the future.

Talks on Russian Troop Pullout To Resume 17-20 May

WS1305140993 Tallinn BNS in English 2018 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 12, BNS—The postponed round of Latvian-Russian interstate talks resumes May 17-20 in the Latvian resort town of Jurmala, Ilgonis Upmalis, head of the bureau monitoring the Russian troops withdrawal, told BNS Wednesday.

The head of the Russian delegation, Ambassador-at-Large Sergey Zotov, is authorized to sign five of 11 initialed interstate documents, Upmalis said.

Russia says it would also like to continue with the discussions in Moscow later this month to tackle the issue on troop withdrawal by the end of 1994.

Upmalis says the date is a realistic deadline for the troops withdrawal, since there are still several major military installations on the Latvian territory that cannot be removed earlier.

The coming round of talks was first scheduled for April 26, but the Russian delegation did not arrive, citing its disapproval of a bill on the temporary residency permits for Russian servicemen.

Russian Residency Decree Revised

WS1305144393 Tallinn BNS in English 1501 GMT 12 May 93

[Text] Moscow, May 12, BNS—Russia and Latvia agreed to resume their negotiations in Jurmala nearly one month after the Russians boycotted a scheduled meeting.

Russian ambassador Sergey Zotov said the countries should sign several agreements related to the withdrawal of the Russian forces during the May 17-20 negotiations. The parties will proceed with the basic treaty on troop withdrawal and discuss a number of other agreements. In particular, are those concerning social security of servicemen, military pensioners and members of their families.

The announcement of the meeting comes just three weeks after aborted meeting scheduled for April 26-27. The day the meeting was to open Russian delegation announced it would not show in protest of a temporary stay bill under consideration by the Latvian parliament. The bill required limited residency permits for people related to the Russian army in Latvia.

The bill drew sharp criticizim from Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin said the bill provided the basis for ethnic cleansing in Latvia. The bill in its original form would have affected 75,000 - 200,000 people.

At that time, head of the Russian delegation declared that he saw no sense in conducting the next round of negotiations under a situation where the Latvian parliament is discussing documents "laying the legal ground for further deportation of tens of thousands of the ethnic Russians."

On April 28 Latvia's parliament adopted a "soft" version of a decree on interim residence permit for Russian servicemen.

Economic Reforms Minister Addresses Economists

LD1405085893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0700 GMT 13 May 93

[Speech by Minister of Economic Reforms Aivars Kreituss entitled "Market Economy as a Guarantor for the Development of the Democratic Latvian State: Situation, Problems, Solutions and Standpoints," at the first congress of Latvian economists; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: What is the main objective of an economic discussion in the circumstances when Latvian independence has been won and economic issues come to the fore? Will Latvia, within a short time, become an economically developed European state which will integrate into the European Community? Or will it be slowly struggling with such problems as (?the national) budget? Consequently, small pensions and wages for those working at institutions in science, culture and schools, poor hospitals, a poor police force, and so on. [passage omitted]

I think that we should not restrict this congress to a purely scientific discussion. Here I mean a request to speak more theoretically, and only in scientific terms. It is extremely important in the present situation to show to the residents and people of Latvia that there is a real way out of this seeming deadlock, that our progress is not worse than that of other eastern European states and Russia, which have just freed themselves from absurd communist ideas. We are even in a better situation. We make conclusions from their mistakes and the stable Latvian currency and the sharp decrease of the inflation rate are obvious evidence to that.

Of course, we do not forget about all the shortcomings made. We should realize that faith in ourselves and in our ability is the force which today can turn the free Latvian state to prosperity, to prosperity for ourselves, our family, and our state. This faith has to be acquired. Those who know the way to follow should pass this faith on to others around them.

I am fully convinced that the strongest forces of the understanding of our national economy and of the realization of the possibility for revival are present in this hall. Therefore I think that one of our common aims, and maybe the most important aim of this congress is to show Latvian people a way to a prosperous future, to inspire them for difficult and selfless work and to say that it is not permitted now to lose heart and step back. We should show that we can work today each one for himself and for his family.

The second main objective of the congress is, in my opinion, to place before a future government a clear action program for national economy. [passage omitted]

A few words about the present situation. I cannot allow myself to give here a long list of figures. I can only say that we have at our disposal precise data from the statistics board of the Statistics Committee concerning the situation in various sectors of industry. I will only remind you of some figures. I will remind you that the volume of industrial production in 1992, compared with 1990, constituted 64.5 percent of that in 1990, calculated for the whole of last year in comparative prices.

Industrial production in the first four months of 1993 compared with the first four months of 1992 decreased by 45 percent; in Estonia, it fell by 39 percent, and in Lithuania by 54 percent. Poultry production decreased by 70 percent compared with the previous year, in Estonia by 78 percent, and in Lithuania by 58 percent. Milk production decreased by 56 percent, in Estonia by 69 percent, and in Lithuania by 73 percent. It is possible to give such figures for individual sectors of industry. I think that they will be published in a report, which will be published as the proceedings of the congress. And I would also like to ask other speakers to include precise figures and a table of materials which will be submitted for publication.

Problems. Problems? What are the main problems at the moment?

The environment for direct investment, which has not been put in good order—laws, taxes, the banking system, business services and others, including the lack of expertise on the part of specialists in spheres new for the Latvian economy—hinders the influx of foreign capital and techologies, which are vitally important for the Latvian economy at the moment. Therefore, there are almost no tangible direct investments. Foreign capital flows in only in the form of joint ventures and on a negligable scale. At the beginning of 1993, in 2,624 enterprises, it amounted to $135 million. In my opinion this is an extremely negligable sum for such a number of joint ventures (?calculated) for Latvia.

Two considerations are important for the Latvian economy at the moment. The first, the comparatively small amount of investment and the investment environment, which has not been put in order, are not of particular interest to foreign investors. Considerably more attractive conditions, even more attractive than in other states, have to be created in order to draw investment. The economy of a country with scarce resources, and once more with scarce resources, has to be based on its relative advantages. And our main advantage is the geographical situation, which allows us to turn Latvia into a base for economic cooperation and trade between the West and the East. Here I do not mean that a rather hackneyed concept, which everyone repeats, that a bridge be created here. Lithuanians also say that they could be that bridge, and Estonians also want the same, and the Finns send us proof that the real bridge between Europe and Moscow and Russia is Helsinki. We received such proof as well. I think that measures which we will or will not take within the next year in the sphere of the economy will determine who will be the real bridge.

Free economic zones provide one of the most effective methods for the implementation of such a strategy. The Latvian economy with its distinctive features and in its present situation needs trade policy directed toward foreign markets, one which promotes exports, as well as an influx of foreign capital and advanced technology. If the state as a whole fails to achieve that, then it has to be done in separate regions. If separate regions flourish then the whole of Latvia will also flourish. [passage omitted] Our state could benefit from this process of creating economic zones. Successful and fast economic growth may create greater political stability in our region, and a large amount of foreign investment in its turn may guarantee Latvia's security. I would like to emphasize this as nearly the most important thing, especially if we look at what Kuwait was like and what happened in Kuwait, and why somebody went to defend Kuwait.

The next thing: As international experience shows, the development of free economic zones helps the rest of the economy to develop and grow, because many enterprises from the zone need suppliers of components and semifinished products.

Further, the present uncertain situation concerning former landowners quite often does not allow the construction of new enterprises in Latvia. A free economic zone could be a place where completely new investments would be accumulated or where technologically well-equipped and environmentally friendly enterprises would be set up. With big international companies coming into Latvia, the scientific potential of Latvia as well as Latvian scientists from abroad could be appropriately employed.

Further, one of the theories circulating in Latvia says that Latvia has to be one big free economic zone. International experience shows, however, that such a policy is not particularly successful, e.g., China and Chinese special zones. On the other hand, the Latvian budget rules out such an option for at least a few years.

Further, some other theory in Latvia says in its turn that Latvia is too small to create free economic zones. However, as international experience shows, a free economic zone does not take more than 60-80 hectares, which is a 200th part of Riga. And there are many states and territories which, as far as their population and territory are concerned, are similar to Latvia, and which have implemented successful models of free economic zones. I think I do not have to list them. [passage omitted]

Further, one of the arguments mentioned against the creation of free economic zones in Latvia is the one that a zone may be created in a place of present concentration of migrants. Let us all recall the criticism concerning Bolderaja. These zones will create new jobs specially for them, as well as promoting them to stay in Latvia. However, even in the case of the most optimistic forecasts, in the first few years there will be a shortfall of 20,000 newly created jobs, which is many times less than the already existent, really existent, hidden unemployment. Moreover, at the moment 44 percent of the total number of unemployed are Latvians.

The creation of free economic zones in Latvia could serve as a psychological instrument—a psychological instrument, namely, as the free economic zone is a way out of the existing economic crisis. And the free economic zones could (?lastly) also be the thing to make use of the economic potential of Latvian emigrants. At present, 15 percent of world trade turnover is being made in free economic zones. In the view of UN experts, in about the year 2000 the share of free economic zones will reach 30 percent. [passage omitted]

The tax system: The most important thing is the freeing of income tax from the basis, (?with a) sharp reduction, adopting five or six percent—we believe the main stimulus in attracting foreign capital. At the same time this tax is one of the most important sources for budget revenue, and in 1992 it gave our state 27 percent of the budget. After the Social Tax—(?after the adaptation to the family) I understand the questions of the size of the (?generation) and that of (?linking or not linking) this tax. But I will mention an example that is often mentioned among us, (?because the purpose of this indeed relates to) the economic rebirth of Germany after the war because of the plans to make use of finance, and the example is the Federal Republic of Germany. The tax system has been worked out in great detail, and oriented to the promotion of economic activity and thrift in the consumer sphere. The main income arises from taxes on wages and other income from the population—about 46 percent. Turnover tax is 24 percent, and several taxes for individual goods—fuel, (?automobiles), tobacco, tea, coffee and so on—different kinds of activity which all, in our understanding, could be included conditionally in the group of (?active) taxes. Income tax gives less than one percent and four [word indistinct] less than one percent. These are the same taxes whose source is ultimately earned from invested capital, their [word indistinct] attributed, and yet all these together, including even income tax, do not exceed 11 percent. These (?German achievements) in the economic sphere could serve partially as a model for the extension of the tax system. So, by reducing the income tax rate and thereby (?indicating) the size of earnings, the conditions will be created for the development of entrepreneurial activity throughout the country. The main thing that has to be (?done): The transformation of the tax system, so that every owner of capital, especially the foreigner, will invest his funds in manufacturing, not in (?charity wages for living). But in order to get (?earnings), in this context the objective circumstances [words indistinct] to seek those places where these earnings can gain the most, or else to export overseas those products whose functioning in developed countries is of a limited economic and social character. We must be particularly attentive to the terrible tendencies once perhaps shown by the West with aid, such as Germany [word indistinct], with huge millions working in industries which in the sense of ecological issues were not quite beneficial perhaps, but showed a return on investment. They grew and worked happily. Therefore, unfortunately, in Europe and Germany, and the Ruhr district, and elsewhere such things repeatedly happened, and such plants cannot be allowed. Again, to this question: Specialists must work. Regardless of the fact that they are the ones who are to determine the path to be taken here, but I will show you only one example. Such a possibility, calculating the [word indistinct] and in this way there is an opportunity to [word indistinct] (?plenty) more in the budget than working out taxes in bills and taking from those who seem to have it, and losing it from the hands of those who have plenty of money and who can pay powerful lawyers, and function capably at an international level and invest their capital with complete security. [passage omitted]

Lithuania

Decision Unanimous on Council of Europe Admission

LD1305184493 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 11 May 93

[Text] Lithuania has been unanimously admitted to the European Council. The decision by the European Council Parliament Assembly will be formally confirmed by the Council of Ministers of this organization on Friday [14 May].

The BALTIC NEWS SERVICE agency reports that at the session of the European Parliament which is taking place in Strasbourg, either in main reports or in discussions, there was not a single statement against Lithuania's membership in the European Council. Both the British member of parliament, [name indistinct], who delivered the main report, and heads of individual committees, expressing their opinion about Lithuania's possible membership in the European Council, supported Lithuania's admission as full member.

Contrary to misgivings by the Lithuanian delegation, Polish representatives did not have any reproaches to Lithuania. In their statements they only spoke of the situation of the Polish minority in Lithuania without mentioning any violations of human rights.

A Russian representative, speaking as a special guest, said Lithuania was showing examples to the other two Baltic states in implementing international obligations in the protection of human rights.

According to BNS, many speakers, including the British member of parliament who delivered the main report, especially stressed the services of the former chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, the present member of the Lithuanian parliamentary delegation in the European Council, Vytautas Landsbergis, in the struggle for Lithuania's independence. Some speakers compared the former chairman of the Lithuanian supreme council with Charles DeGaulle and Winston Churchill.

Polish Sejm Delegation Ends Visit to Vilnius

LD1305171193 Warsaw PAP in English 1533 GMT 13 May 93

[Text] Vilnius, May 13—A four-member delegation from the Sejm (lower house) Commission for Economic, Budgetary and Finance Policy headed by Wieslawa Ziolkowska ended its visit to Vilnius on Thursday. The MPs met with the Lithuanian ministers of economy and finance, Julius Veselka and Eduardas Vilkelis. The deputies also spoke with representatives of the Lithuanian Diet's Budget and Finance Committee.

The Lithuanian and Polish deputies discussed the economic problems faced by both countries and the success of each country's respective reforms. The Lithuanian parliamentarians focused particular attention upon the problems arising from quick and ill-prepared privatization and reprivatization reforms carried out in the area of agriculture.

According to Deputy Ziolkowska the Lithuanian experience is worthy to take note of, in order that Poland may avoid making the same mistakes.

EC Extends $30-Million Grant for Reforms

WS1405090593 Tallinn BNS in English 0806 GMT 14 May 93

[Text] Brussels, May 13, AP - BNS—The European Community on Thursday signed a 2-year aid program with Lithuania and gave it a 30 million USD grant for its economic and social reform efforts.

The agreement, signed by EC External Affairs Commissioner Leon Brittan and Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys, falls under the EC's PHARE [Poland/Hungary Assistance for Economic Restructuring] program designed to help central and eastern European nations.

PHARE projects for Lithuania will concentrate on infrastructure, job creation and regional programs, according to an EC Commission statement.

The PHARE funding is also aimed at restructuring and privatizing state enterprises, reforming the banking sector, beefing up agricultural viability, and enhancing health, transportation and energy services.

The statement cited Brittan as saying "Lithuania has moved significantly to a liberal economy and a democratic society. Privatization of small firms and state enterprises is progressing quickly."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Interviews National Defense Minister

PM1405093793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 May 93 p 2

[Interview with Audrius Butkevicius, minister of national defense, by Valeriy Gromak in Vilnius; date not given: "Security Is a Collective Matter. Nine Questions for Lithuanian National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius"]

[Text] [Gromak] Mr. Minister, in the last three years Lithuania has had six changes of government. Officials have changed in these governments, but the minister of national defense has remained one and the same man. That is enviable permanency. To what do you attribute it?

[Butkevicius] To the fact that I took the principle of depoliticization as a base from the very outset in the organizational development of the armed forces. Throughout this three-year period I have unswervingly stuck to that principle.

[Gromak] How are your relations developing with the Russian military?

[Butkevicius] I think they are developing all right. We are working with the Russian military and finding a common language. Things are always far worse with politicians. I have already said on one occasion that all the problems stem from the Foreign Ministry. Politicians very often engage in populism toward the military, thus harming them. Politicians sometimes rank their transitory aims far higher than the farsighted goals. I think that before doing anything with regard to the military politicians and diplomats would do well to consult the military themselves. And only then make a decision....

[Gromak] Mr. Minister, during our last meeting you said that the Lithuanian state does not as yet have a military doctrine. What is the position now?

[Butkevicius] Three documents regulating our activity have been drafted. The first is a concept for national security, a very general, very philosophical document that answers the question of the values the nation and the state set themselves, the threats that arise in relation to them, and the means by which the nation intends to defend these values. There are many questions here that must not be answered by politicians and the military but by the most profound minds in the nation.

The second document concerns our sphere more closely. It reflects views of the world today, the situation in and outside Lithuania, possible threats to Lithuania, and the mechanism of aggression. It also outlines approaches to the organization of defense. And also the means of effecting it. Primarily political, and then purely military-technical means.

The third document is the concept for the actual system of national defense. This document enables us to work on the national programs that the parliament is funding today.

[Gromak] So, as I understand it, military doctrine is at the stage of being formulated. When will it be ratified?

[Butkevicius] All documents pertaining to military doctrine have been practically worked through and handed to the parliament. But, as you know, Lithuanian domestic policy "holdups" have halted work on many normative acts. I hope that a military doctrine will be adopted in the near future. I repeat that it is a purely defensive doctrine. Since we view security as a collective matter.

No state can guarantee its security by its own efforts alone. Even Russia. That is why Lithuania favors the principle of collective security and the creation of European structures to guarantee stability.

[Gromak] Following the recent elections Algirdas Brazauskas became Lithuania's president. In this connection has there been a change in the organization of the supreme military leadership?

[Butkevicius] Yes, henceforth the president, both in peacetime and wartime, is the commander in chief of the armed forces. He heads the defense committee. It includes the minister of national defense and the minister [as published] of economy and finance. Then comes the third echelon—the main staff and concrete structures performing their immediate combat missions.

[Gromak] Now a more pressing question for you. April and May will see the spring draft for national defense service in Lithuania. You are intending to draft roughly 4,000 young men. Do you have any problems with the draft?

[Butkevicius] In the future we are planning to bring the strength of the armed forces (along with border troop and civil defense structures) to 27,000 men. As for the draft, there are more problems with money than with draftees here. We have a funding problem, given the budget deficit. The term of service in our republic is a year. You and I know that you cannot make a soldier out of someone in a year, especially as many young men turn up for service in poor physical shape. I cannot talk calmly to my medical colleagues who send sick and weak people into the army. They are harming the state by doing this. We do after all have to make each one into a soldier. But however you look at this material, crudely speaking, you cannot make it into either a watchman or an academic. Each enlisted man costs Lithuania 280,000 tallons a year. Are we to invest that kind of money in an invalid? It is still the army and not a charitable organization we are talking about....

[Gromak] But you yourself agreed to set the term of service at one year.... Yet the term of service in the old Lithuanian Army was 18 months....

[Butkevicius] I suggested 18 months, but once again I came up against the problem of populism in the parliament. Some deputies wanted to show themselves in a very good light with their voters. I believe this issue will be reviewed shortly.

[Gromak] If you remember, Mr. Minister, the first time we spoke to you was in 1990 when you had just set up the system of national defense. When was life harder—then or now?

[Butkevicius] The further you go, the harder it gets. I don't remember whether or not I told you about this, but during the USSR's first talks with Lithuania I was sitting opposite Army General Mikhail Moiseyev. While the politicians were holding talks that had nothing to do with us, Moiseyev inquired what I was doing. I told him everything. Gen. Moiseyev looked at me closely and said: "Things will be hard for you, my son, oh so hard...."

[Gromak] One last question, Mr. Minister. What are you more—a military man or a politician?

[Butkevicius] I cannot consider myself a military man since I am a doctor by profession. But I am not a politician. I have always been interested by thinking as such. I have tried to find a way of thinking as a politician and a military man, synthesize the two, and draw conclusions....

Paper on 'Scandalous Affair' of Banknotes

WS1405101793 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1225 GMT 13 May 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 247]

[Text] 13 May 1993—The newspaper "LIETUVOS RYTAS" has published a series of articles on the scandalous affair of the production of litas bills. In today's issue it gives yet another fact: the company US Banknote Corporation decided to print 5 million additional litas bills than it had been negotiated in the agreement. Their whole nominal value totals to 2 milliard 250 million. According to journalist Brone Vainauskiene, the company assesses it wanted to demonstrate good will by printing additional bills and in this way to compensate for the delay. The article maintains: "As a rule, a fine is charged for delays, and no demonstration of good will is necessary". The documents prove that no protest from Lithuania's part has been expressed over the initiative of the foreign company to print additional bills, which was not negotiated in the contract. "After having investigated the litas affair for a year and a half", the article reports, "we have come to the conclusion that the agreement between Lithuania's government, the Bank and US Banknote Corporation was seriously infringed in almost all aspects: the quality of litas bills does not meet the requirements negotiated in the contract, there is a considerable delay in their printing, and their number is different.